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EXITING THE MATRIX: COLONISATION, DECOLONISATION AND SOCIAL WORK IN AOTEAROA

VOICES OF NGĀTI RAUKAWA KI TE TONGA KAIMAHI WHĀNAU

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the potential use of a facilitated process of decolonisation, or whakawātea, amongst whānau whakapapa in Aotearoa. Ten kaimahi whānau of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, who have worked for many years in government, community, Māori and iwi social service agencies have shared their experiences of colonisation, racism, social work and decolonisation. Using a “from Māori, by Māori, with Māori, for Māori” research approach, their voices have been woven with the voices of other Māori and indigenous writers, to consider how a facilitated process of decolonisation, or whakawātea, could be used to assist whānau whakapapa to develop their own systems of support, based on the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna.

Despite the positive development and wellbeing currently enjoyed by many whānau whakapapa, this study has developed in response to the disconnection from te ao Māori observed amongst many whānau whakapapa interacting with social service agencies. Colonisation has created loss of wairuatanga, kotahitanga and manaakitanga amongst many of these whānau whakapapa, and affected their ability to lead their own positive development and wellbeing. This study promotes a facilitated process of decolonisation, or whakawātea, as a means of reclaiming those values and strengthening whanaungatanga amongst whānau whakapapa. The process envisaged would enable whānau whakapapa to learn about the history of Aotearoa; hear the stories of their tūpuna; uncover their own truths, and exit the “Matrix” created by colonisation

The Matrix, from the popular movie trilogy, is used in this study, as an analogy, and compares the computerised Matrix programme created by machines in the movies, with the “programme” created by the coloniser in Aotearoa. Within this programme, the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of the coloniser, dominate the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of tūpuna. This study argues that only through finding ways for all whānau whakapapa to exit the Matrix, will rangatiratanga be restored in Aotearoa.

HE MIHI

Ko Tararua te maunga
Ko Manawatu te awa
Ko Tainui te waka
Ko Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga te iwi
Ko Ngāti Te Au te hapū
Ko Himatangi te whenua
Tēnā koutou katoa

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini.

This study would not have taken place without the guidance and protection of my tūpuna. They have guided me to be in the places that I have been and to make the choices I have made. I mihi to them for the understanding they have sought me to have in undertaking this study. They have brought many people into my life that have bestowed blessing upon me. My hope is that I have in some way bestowed blessing upon them.

This thesis is dedicated to my son Reihana, his cousins, Mitchell, Mia, Leyna and Olivia. It is for their future I have written. My parents, Peter and Lorraine, my brothers Tracy and Nathan, have allowed me the time, and supported my son and I, as we have travelled this journey together. Members of my whānau whakapapa, particularly Manurere and Ted Devonshire, and Manu Kawana I thank for standing alongside me, and strengthening my understanding.

The kaimahi whānau who gave their time so willingly to share kōrero about their lives...I mihi most humbly to them all and thank them for the mahi they do amongst our whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi throughout Aotearoa. Without the patience and expertise of Rachael Selby, Ngāti Pareraukawa, and Professor Robyn Munford, the stories of the kaimahi whānau would not have been presented in the way they have...so my thanks to them also.

Many other whanaunga and friends have shared this journey with me. I would like to thank them for their support and patience. Two friends in particular, contributed to the title and framework of this study. Through Helen Davies initiating discussion around my thesis topic, Barbara Morris suggested the analogy of colonisation and the Matrix. It was an epiphany for me and I thank my tūpuna for the opportunity to have had that discussion.

My hope now is that people will read and continue to discuss the ideas that are presented in this study. I am honoured to have had the opportunity to share them and hope by doing so they will contribute to the positive wellbeing of our mokopuna.

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Chapter One

THE MATRIX, COLONISATION AND DECOLONISATION

...tino rangatiratanga is...a total transformation of society. It requires a programme of decolonisation which effectively educates people about the history of this country. The dark age...has disrupted the normal course of societal evolution, ultimately crippling the capacity of iwi communities to develop... Dependency can only be overcome by enabling Māori to go through a lengthy period of decolonisation...(Vercoe, 1998, p. 85)

Introduction

This statement by Mike Smith represents the view, held by many, that colonisation has had a devastating impact on Māori in Aotearoa. He claims that only through decolonisation will positive whānau whakapapa, hapū, and iwi development and wellbeing be achieved. This study will further explore this view, considering colonisation and decolonisation in the context of social work practice in Aotearoa.

In this study I share kōrero with kaimahi whānau and seek their perspectives of colonisation and decolonisation. *Kaimahi whānau* has been used in this study, to refer to those Māori who work voluntarily or in paid employment to support and strengthen whānau whakapapa to meet the needs of their members. Others might refer to kaimahi whānau as social workers, however in this study use of the term kaimahi whānau is not exclusive to social workers or inclusive of all social workers.

Whānau has been used in this study to refer to the group of people, Māori but not exclusive to Māori, who are usually, but not always linked by descent, and who provide, or have the potential to provide, social support to each other. *Whānau whakapapa* is used to describe the social grouping of Māori connected by descent from a common ancestor or tupuna, that could include up to five generations of descendants. When used in this study whānau whakapapa does not include unrelated friends or non-Māori. This distinction has been made because of the different meanings given to the word whānau in Aotearoa today.

Some of these more modern meanings have been described by Metge (1995) and Durie (2003) to include groups focused around religious, social, sporting, educational and employment kaupapa.

In Aotearoa kaimahi whānau are often working with whānau whakapapa whose members are threatened by addiction, abuse and/or poverty. Many of these whānau whakapapa are involved with the criminal justice and health systems. The work of kaimahi whānau is varied. At times they may be involved in crisis work ensuring the safety of whānau whakapapa members. At other times they take a preventative approach working in schools, amongst youth and in communities. They may be employed in government departments and community agencies with statutory obligations. Some work within iwi, Māori rōpū and community services. Others work unpaid amongst their own whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi or people in communities where they reside.

Because of their involvement at the flax root, kaimahi whānau know well the suffering and unwellness amongst many whānau whakapapa. L. Ruwhiu (1995), Turia (2000) and Walsh-Tapiata (2000) are three of many kaimahi whānau, who have explored a link between colonisation and the unwellness of these whānau whakapapa. Kaimahi whānau are constantly reflecting on the journeys of whānau whakapapa towards positive wellbeing and the most appropriate means to provide support (Hibbs, 2005a; P. Te O. Ruwhiu & L. Ruwhiu, 2005). It is because of their wealth of experience amongst whānau whakapapa, that it is important their stories be heard. This study is about sharing their stories.

Recently Māori Party co-leader Tariana Turia described her view of research as being “talking to people” (2005). This study has evolved from talking to people in my own whānau whakapapa, in my hapū and in my iwi. It has developed into an exploration of the concept of social work, what it means for Māori, the role it plays in whānau whakapapa development and how it has been shaped by colonisation. Ten kaimahi whānau of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, who have worked, paid or unpaid, in various iwi, community and government agencies have discussed the impact of racism and colonisation on their own lives, the

lives of their own whānau whakapapa, and the whānau whakapapa they work amongst everyday. What role, if any, a facilitated process of decolonisation could play in supporting the positive development and wellbeing of whānau whakapapa, is the research question of this study. Sharing kōrero with these kaimahi whānau has allowed me to explore this question.

In this chapter I will provide some context to this study by sharing my personal journey and identifying my motives for pursuit of knowledge and understanding of this kaupapa. I will also define the Matrix, discuss what it represents for this study, and introduce the two main themes of colonisation and decolonisation.

Whakapapa To This Study

Reflecting on my personal life journey, I can see in hindsight why the kaupapa of colonisation and decolonisation have become the focus of this study. Although I carry the physical features of my non-Māori ancestors and grew up dominated by the non-Māori worldview of family and friends, I have been exposed to the most precious gifts of te ao Māori by retaining connection with my tūpuna and experiencing their world. Those gifts have impacted on my wellbeing and given me a sense of belonging, a sense of protection and a faith in the future of our people.

Tika, pono and aroha have guided my decisions, and even though not all decisions have been judged by others to be tika, they have been made with a sense of purpose. Tika refers to what is right. What is right is guided by the whakatauki and kōrero of my tūpuna, and by whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi around me. Pono refers to faith and trust in the guidance that is given, being honest and pure in the search for truth, knowing that there is connection with all that has, is and will be. Aroha refers to the valuing of one self and others, the care and protection of all things, humility, reverence and an attitude of rangimārie. Aroha also implies obligation and a sense of restoring and enhancing mana. This guidance has fed my wairua and challenged me to feed the wairua of others. By encouraging others to expose themselves to this guidance and by supporting the awakening of collective potential, I believe

others come to know that they are valued and have roles to play in te ao hurihuri, the changing world of today.

I have not done this by acquiring in depth knowledge or skill in any of the forms of cultural significance to Māori. I have some knowledge of te reo me ōna tikanga Māori learnt amongst my own people, but find it very difficult playing skilled roles at the pā except to clean toilets, do dishes and occasionally support waiata! What I have had is insight into how much we have lost and how much we have to gain by finding it again.

This insight was possible as a member of my whānau whakapapa, because the differences in the way we lived our lives, as compared with our tūpuna, were made very evident to us. Our kuia (Kui Ranginui) lived to 112 years of age, chose to only speak te reo Māori and continued to live by the tikanga of our tūpuna until she died in 1984. Until her daughter, my great grandmother (Nanny Rangimahora), died in 1993 when I was 31 years old, we were constantly confronted with the changes that had taken place in our lives, that had created such a difference between the way they both lived their lives and the way we lived ours.

Other experiences I have had amongst other whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi in other parts of Aotearoa also highlighted those differences. Pursuing non-Māori knowledge in the area of psychology, counselling and social work while working through issues of my own led me towards lifestyles and environments that I now acknowledge were unsafe for my wellbeing. When the opportunity was made available for me to stay with Nanny Rangimahora in the rohe of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, involvement in those lifestyles and environments slowly declined. Another lifestyle and other environments became more important to me. In hindsight the decision at this time to consistently wear a taonga pounamu gifted to me at birth by Kui Ranginui played a significant role in supporting this lifestyle change.

Following Nanny's death, and subsequently seeking paid employment, I returned to some of those previously visited environments and lifestyles, in

another role. The sense of loss amongst our people was more evident. Sensing the significance of this loss, reflecting on the reasons for the loss and how we might regain what we had lost, became more and more important to me. These reflections intensified when, at this time, my own whānau whakapapa was threatened with the loss of our only remaining whenua tupuna (ancestral land).

That I concluded our experience of colonisation had created this loss for our people, and that I would consider a facilitated process of decolonisation, a possible pathway to regain what we had lost, is attributed to my experience in employment with my own iwi, made possible by staying with Nanny. The opportunity to explore colonisation and decolonisation in a non-Māori academic setting was provided by iwi connections within that setting. Therefore, exposure to lifestyles and environments in my life journey, staying with Nanny, and interacting with my own whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, guided me to this kaupapa and provided me with the opportunity to pursue study around this kaupapa.

So why the Matrix?

For several years my son and I shared enjoyment of the popular movie trilogy *The Matrix* (Silver, Wachowski & Wachowski, 1999). Like *Lord of the Rings* (Tolkien, 1968; P. Jackson & Walsh, 2001) the release of each instalment was eagerly awaited and created a cult of support for the movies' themes. The set of Matrix movies told a story of humans being controlled by machines. Set in a futuristic world where machines had come to dominate Earth, the machines created a computerised Matrix programme which controlled the minds of humans, and in which humans were led to believe they were living "normal" lives.

With human minds connected to this Matrix programme, machines used the human bodies as sources of energy, to fuel themselves. Some humans were able to exit the Matrix by hacking into the machines' computer programme, and some like Neo, the main character, sought support from other humans who had already exited the Matrix. Those humans who had exited the Matrix, organised

themselves in another part of Earth. Some of the freed humans chose to re-enter the Matrix in order to obtain information or free other humans.

It was not until I discussed the kaupapa of my study with some friends, that the link was made between humans exiting the Matrix created by machines in the movies, and Māori decolonising themselves from the world created by the dominant non-Māori population in Aotearoa. In the movies, humans disconnected their minds from the Matrix programme. Physically out of the Matrix programme, they were forced to live together in another part of Earth. They found themselves then in a state of freedom, but still under threat from the machines who wanted them to return to the Matrix.

In this study, decolonisation refers to a disconnection of the mind from the programme, or Matrix, that the dominant non-Māori population has created through colonisation. This study argues that many Māori have, because of the programme, been denied the opportunity to know who they really are and to understand how colonisation impacted on the lives of their tūpuna, and affects the way they live their lives today.

While decolonisation, or exiting the Matrix, is unlikely to result in a physical removal of Māori from the world created by the dominant non-Māori population, it will allow Māori to reconnect with a world that does give value to the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of our tūpuna, and encourages their use in te ao hurihuri. It is argued that decolonisation has become necessary because colonisation by non-Māori, has created a programme which places more value on the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of the non-Māori population, than the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of our tūpuna. In this study, the Matrix programme created by the machines in the movie, is seen as an analogy to the colonisation programme created by non-Māori in Aotearoa over the last two hundred years; a programme that has also been created by colonisers in other parts of the world.

While machines were motivated by gaining access to a human energy source; this study claims that access to and control of land and resources, has been the

motivation for creating the programme in Aotearoa and in other lands. It is argued that racism has justified the programme. Elements of racism were evident in the Matrix, as machines showed no concern for the wellbeing of humans and treated them as inferior. This study argues that racism is evident in the colonisation of Aotearoa and other lands. Colonisers have shown little concern for the wellbeing of the colonised and treated them as inferior. The colonisers, like the machines, have only been concerned with gaining access to resources for themselves. It is argued that because of this, the coloniser hopes the colonised will stay in the programme unaware of the coloniser's dominance, in the same way that humans were expected to stay in the Matrix and remain unaware of their manipulation by the machines.

While avid fans of the Matrix movies, may have different interpretations of the movies' themes, these are the interpretations that have been used for this study. In choosing the title *Exiting the Matrix*, I am referring to the process by which Māori, like humans in the movies, become aware that they are being programmed or colonised, and choose to free themselves from this dominance over their lives. The key issue is awareness of what has happened to them as Māori in the historical context of Aotearoa, and exposure to the experience of their own tūpuna in this context. This awareness creates opportunities for them to choose what influence the programme continues to have on their lives.

Whether, with this awareness, Māori choose to return to the Matrix is irrelevant. Like humans in the Matrix movie who chose to return to the Matrix, they might do so for many reasons. The important issue is that they have choice, and that they have awareness and knowledge to make that choice. In this study, this choice is defined as rangatiratanga and refers to the right of Māori to determine how the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna influence the way they live their lives today and in the future. It is argued that only by being deprogrammed or decolonised, will more Māori within the Matrix, reclaim the choice to live as Māori and exit the Matrix.

Why Explore Colonisation?

Participation by Māori as Māori, in Aotearoa has become more obvious in recent years. Education initiatives, economic entrepreneurialism, sporting leadership and creative inspiration by Māori as Māori, have shaped the development of this country. Aotearoa, as it has come to be known by many, has become a nation that in many forums celebrates the unique richness that te ao Māori has to offer in te ao hurihuri. Within the tourism and film industries there are many examples of the benefits to the nation of identifying and celebrating this uniqueness. Support for the Tamaki Tours and Kaikoura Whalewatch initiatives, and the international success of the movie *Whale Rider* (Ihimaera, 1987; Barnett, 2001), highlight to the world some of the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of our tūpuna in a positive way.

This is the world in which many of our mokopuna are being raised. They are proud to be Māori, celebrate being Māori and practise the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of our tūpuna in the modern world. Whānau whakapapa provide support and for many, intermarriage has ensured that their wairua remains connected with their tūpuna, as well as their ancestors from other lands. They stand strong in Aotearoa and in other parts of the world, comfortable on the many different paths that they follow and able to pursue their dreams.

That this is the reality for many whānau whakapapa in Aotearoa today, is not questioned in this study. That the number of whānau whakapapa connected to te ao Māori is increasing every day, is not questioned in this study. What is questioned in this study, is the attention that we as Māori are paying to those whānau whakapapa that are not enjoying this reality. More specifically questioned, is the attention we are paying to those within our own whānau whakapapa, who are not enjoying this reality, who are still suffering and unwell. Kaimahi whānau including social workers, health workers and educators work amongst those who are suffering and unwell. Many are disconnected from their own whānau whakapapa. A lot have, like Durie (2003) described, become trapped in intergenerational lifestyles of abuse, addiction and poverty. This

study will consider what has contributed to trapping many whānau whakapapa in those lifestyles.

Having worked in several government departments and rūpū Māori in Wellington, Gisborne, Whanganui and Horowhenua over the last twenty years and observed Māori communities around me, there have been opportunities to see positive initiatives developed and excellent support provided for Māori. However it has not been apparent to me that all Māori are living authentically. Royal (1999) describes this authenticity in terms of knowledge or truth that can set people free. He speaks of the search for authenticity through the seeking out of a collective and individual identity and links it to one's own humanity.

This study is based on the belief that all Māori have not had access to opportunities to learn about themselves; their true self is not free. Colonisation has prevented them from knowing what taonga existed in the world of their tūpuna prior to non-Māori arrival in Aotearoa, or from recognising how those taonga could strengthen their whānau whakapapa today. As Durie (2005) claims many Māori are not participating in the positive development of te ao Māori in the 21st century.

This study argues that colonisation has had a major impact on the lifestyles of many of our people, and the racism associated with this colonisation has had major effects on our wellbeing. Those that have held on to the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna have remained connected with te ao Māori, and found support to maintain those taonga in their modern lives. Others have found it difficult to cope with the onslaught of change that came with colonisation. They have become disconnected from te ao Māori and have lost the support of their whānau whakapapa to maintain positive wellbeing.

This process of colonisation has taken place over many years in Aotearoa and has affected Māori in many different ways. One definition is that colonisation involves

a relationship...in which one state controls the effective political sovereignty of another political society. It can be achieved by force (or) by economic, social or cultural dependence (Doyle, 1986, p. 45 cited in M. Jackson, 2004, p. 98).

Another definition is that it is “a process by which one culture subordinates and oppresses another” (M. Jackson, 2004, p. 98). M. Jackson claims that colonisation for Māori has been an attack on their soul.

The attack on their soul was to be so terrible that it would lead to a weakening of faith in all things that had nourished it. The demeaning of the values that cherished it, the language that gave meaning to its soul, the law that gave it order, and the religion that was its strength were ultimately to affect the belief of Māori in themselves (ibid, p. 102).

My own definition of colonisation is that of a process motivated by racism and greed, that involves one group of people (the coloniser) taking control of decision making in regards to resources, and assuming influence over social structures, in another people’s (the colonised) land. This process is continuous over time and the impact of it is felt even when the coloniser relinquishes control of decision making.

This is evident in the political structures of national governments and the legal systems adopted, in countries, where colonisation has “ceased”. Many of the educational and health systems initiated by the coloniser, continue to operate and transmit the values and beliefs of the coloniser, undermining the traditional values and beliefs of the colonised. The values and beliefs of the coloniser, have become so entrenched in the lives of generations of the colonised, that they have lost connection with the values and beliefs of their ancestors (Noriega, 1992; Said, 1993). Fanon (1967) writes about this experience for African countries where the colonisers have “left”. Recent work experience and personal communications in Fiji have led me to make similar conclusions of modern “independent” Fiji.

Colonisation has had an enduring impact on the lives of many indigenous peoples. Even when reflecting on the wellbeing of my own whānau whakapapa, the effects of colonisation and racism on our lives is still evident. Many of us while appearing to have achieved success in the non-Māori world, are disconnected from te ao Māori. Other traditions, values, skills and beliefs have taken priority in our lives. From the worldview of our tūpuna, our achievement of success, particularly in terms of wellbeing, could be challenged. In terms of our tūpuna holistic view of wellbeing, acknowledging balance in the spiritual (taha wairua), physical (taha tinana), social (taha whānau), and mental (taha hinengaro) spheres (Durie, 1994a); wellbeing is not always evident in our whānau whakapapa or in other whānau whakapapa around us. This study will consider this imbalance, what contribution colonisation has had to it, the effects of it and how balance can be restored, arguing that only by exiting the colonisation programme of the Matrix, can it be restored.

This imbalance is not just a concern for Māori. It could be claimed that all peoples throughout the world are affected by the creation of this imbalance. This study does not negate this claim however it focuses on the way this imbalance has been created for whānau whakapapa in Aotearoa acknowledging that it has happened in our more recent history. Imbalance has been created for other peoples in different places, in different ways and at different times throughout their histories. The sources of those imbalances are the concerns of other research and not the focus of this study. However some of the findings of this study may prove useful for considering imbalance in other contexts.

Colonisation has been very evident in the places I have worked. Delivering social policy in government departments, I have observed the injustice of many of those policies and the extent to which they have undermined the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of our tūpuna. As a young clerical worker, being told to discuss with a koroua the legality of looking after his mokopuna and explaining why he could not acquire financial support to do so; having to administer a programme that gave financial incentive to individuals who left their whenua tupuna and relocated to employment in urban areas; and listening to the stories

of wāhine who were removed from their whānau whakapapa and abused in the care of the Department of Social Welfare, were some examples of the many times when I felt oppressive in my work. Experiences in employment at the Māori Land Court, Whanganui; Department of Social Welfare Benefits Section, Wellington and Gisborne; Housing Corporation, Whanganui; Department of Labour, Gisborne and more recently in counselling, education and social work in Horowhenua, have led me to believe that colonisation and the continuing affect of it on the lives of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, is the real issue that must be dealt with in Aotearoa today.

Educationalist, Linda Smith, supports this view and talks about the need to reframe our problems including mental illness, alcoholism and suicide. She claims these problems are

not about psychological and individual failure but about colonisation or a lack of collective self determination...governments and social agencies have failed to see many indigenous social problems as being related to any sort of history (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 153).

This study argues that colonisation has had a devastating impact on the wellbeing of Māori, and without positive wellbeing, whānau whakapapa are less able to participate or contribute towards whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi development. As Mike Smith claims, this has crippled the potential and strength of development for Māori in Aotearoa (Vercoe, 1998, p. 85). It is argued that addressing what has crippled our development will be necessary for both the development of Māori, and the development of the nation as a whole.

It is often acknowledged that the effects of colonisation on Māori are similar to the effects of colonisation on other indigenous peoples in other lands throughout the world. This study proposes that if colonisation has disconnected the families of other indigenous peoples from their sources of wellbeing, then facilitating processes of decolonisation could reconnect them with those sources of wellbeing. This is the proposed relevance of this study for other indigenous peoples.

So What Is Decolonisation?

When discussing colonisation it is important then to discuss decolonisation. It is a word that has different meanings for different people. American educator bell hooks (1994) refers to Freire (1972) and his advocacy of conscientisation, as decolonisation. She further discusses this process in her support of liberatory education.

We need...to understand both the nature of our contemporary predicament and the means by which we might collectively engage in resistance that would transform our current reality (hooks, 1994, p. 67).

This transforming of reality through liberatory education is fundamental to the decolonisation process advocated in this research. The colonised should not only be supported to learn about their own history, but to also consider what opportunities are available to them once they understand what has happened to them.

In the Aotearoa context, M. Jackson (2004) encourages a process that involves identifying and challenging the myths of colonisation. Dr. Irihapeti Ramsden had previously spoken of this.

Demythologising the stories of our country or teasing out the truth from those colonial constructs is a task we must face if we are to understand the passion and richness of being here. Then the tūpuna must be reinstated in their full humanity, strength and frailty so that their contribution to the human story might be truly understood (Ihimaera, 1998, p. 288).

The use of the word decolonisation in this study, does not simply imply removal of the coloniser and a return to the world before colonisation. This would be impossible. Even if the coloniser were removed from power and returned to their place of origin, the residue of colonisation would still remain. As discussed earlier, and as Fanon (1967), Noriega (1992) and Said (1994) claim, many of the colonised, having known nothing else, will replicate the structures of the

coloniser, even when they have regained control of resources and social structures for themselves.

In this study, the word decolonisation is used to define a process by which people peel away the psychological and spiritual effects of colonisation through a facilitated journey of learning the truths of their history. Truths will be different for different whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, as all have been affected in different ways by colonisation. Many of the physical effects cannot be reversed. The loss and development of land by the coloniser may never be undone. However with decolonisation of mind and spirit, and reconnection with the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of tūpuna, greater value could be given to the use of those taonga to support wellbeing in the modern world.

This study argues that colonisation has disconnected many from the support of whānau whakapapa (Durie, 2003) and that this support is necessary to ensure positive wellbeing in the modern world for people whose authentic self does not originate in the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of the coloniser. It is argued that decolonisation amongst whānau whakapapa is necessary to reclaim and develop this support. Reclaiming social structures, views of wellbeing and relationships with tūpuna will allow balance to be restored. Clarifying roles and responsibilities and meeting obligations to each other, in terms of relationships and behaviour, will ensure the challenges of the modern world are met with guidance and support. This study proposes that the process by which this reclaiming and restoring occurs is decolonisation.

Decolonisation, as a process of reclamation and restoration, already happens in many ways in Aotearoa and for indigenous peoples in other lands. C. W. Smith (1994) refers to “sites of resistance...places of restoration and decolonisation in homes, in shearing sheds and at marae” (pp. 160-161). Those that remain connected with the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna, have embraced others on their journey and encouraged those around them to reconnect. Recently in Aotearoa opportunities for decolonisation, within whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi and within Māori centred education settings have increased, with the revitalisation of marae, whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi

structures and the development of kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, wharekura and wānanga (C. W. Smith, 1994). Similar developments are happening in other parts of the world including First Nation groups in America (Noriega, 1992; Sinclair, 2004). These developments are taking place with or without support from the coloniser.

However decolonisation, in a form that involves a facilitated process of reviewing the history of the colonised and peeling back the psychological and spiritual effects of colonisation, is only happening in pockets throughout Aotearoa and other lands. In Aotearoa, in various educational and employment settings, employers are providing decolonisation workshops for their Māori staff. Various training and consultancy rūpū have designed decolonisation workshops for groups. Some are for Māori and non-Māori. Others are only for Māori and other indigenous peoples. One such rūpū is Te Korowai Aroha o Aotearoa. The kaupapa of this rūpū is to

guide our people toward becoming self reliant, critical thinking members of society...[the kaupapa] promotes Mana Motuhake...is strength focused...is committed to whānau development...and promotes Māori nationhood (Te Korowai Aroha Aotearoa, 2002, p. 8).

Te Pūtake “forms the core basis of all their training programmes” (ibid, p.14) and consists of three modules, often noho based. The first module brings participants together and strengthens relationships. The second module “functions to decolonise the participant and to give them a comprehensive political analysis of the continuing effects of colonisation” (Te Korowai Aroha Aotearoa, 2002, p. 140). The third module

is a process of cultural affirmation that gives the participant the opportunity to explore Māori cultural values and beliefs and look at the ways these can be applied both professionally and personally. This is essential in order to counter the colonisation process that continues to impact on Māori at all times (Te Korowai Aroha Aotearoa, 2002, p. 14).

Employed as a Social Worker in Schools within the Toiora Whānau Social Services team at Te Rūnanga o Raukawa, I was given the opportunity to participate in Te Pūtake with other members of our team. A lot of the information shared at the workshop was not new to me, but the way that the information was shared and the processes of reflection encouraged, made the experience unique. I realised I had the opportunity to participate in that experience because, unlike many members of my whānau whakapapa, I was already connected with te ao Māori. It concerned me that those disconnected from te ao Māori in my own whānau whakapapa, and amongst many of the whānau whakapapa around me, would be unable to access those opportunities to consider decolonisation and exiting the Matrix. This concerned me because that process was an opportunity to reflect on the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of our tūpuna and to consider how those taonga might be a source of strength in te ao hurihuri.

This study proposes that if a facilitated process of decolonisation has a role to play in healing the effects of colonisation amongst Māori and other indigenous peoples, then social work could be a context in which this facilitated process of decolonisation could be accessed. Kaimahi whānau in a facilitative, educative role could provide opportunities for this process to take place. In this role, kaimahi whānau could provide a more effective form of support to whānau whakapapa, than the social work role that has been created from inside the Matrix.

It is for this reason that exploring what social work was, is and has become for Māori is also a focus of this study. It is argued that facilitating processes of decolonisation amongst one's own whānau whakapapa is the most authentic Māori social work practice. Only through embarking on a journey of decolonisation, will whānau whakapapa members reclaim their connection and support for each other. This will have a more positive, long term impact on whānau whakapapa development and wellbeing than the social work currently practised in Aotearoa. Because of this it is expected that this exploration of social work and the role of kaimahi whānau in Aotearoa, will also be relevant to social workers, working amongst indigenous peoples in other lands. This study

will determine what role, if any, a facilitated process of decolonisation for whānau whakapapa, as practised by rūpū like Te Korowai Aroha o Aotearoa, could have in promoting positive whānau whakapapa development and wellbeing in Aotearoa today.

Conclusion And Format Of The Thesis

The Matrix, colonisation and decolonisation are the concepts that will be explored in the social work context in this study. The voices of ten kaimahi whānau of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga will be heard. Their voices will be woven with the voices of writers, both local and international, to consider social work before colonisation, colonisation, racism, social work today and decolonisation.

Because colonisation and racism have been experienced by many indigenous peoples throughout the world, this study will first review local and international literature on the impact of colonisation and racism. Many writers support the view of Mike Smith (Vercoe, 1998) and advocate a process of transformation amongst their people. There are also many Māori writers who advocate a return to the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of our tūpuna, as a means of healing the effects of colonisation. The views of those writers will be presented in Chapter Two.

In researching colonisation and decolonisation, it is important to critically reflect on the research process, and ensure as much as possible that the research approach is from Māori, by Māori, with Māori and for Māori. This has been a challenge at times, because the research is taking place in a non-Māori academic setting with the goal of achieving a non-Māori academic qualification. These challenges will be discussed further in Chapter Three.

In Chapter Four, the kōrero of the kaimahi whānau is presented. Efforts have been made to reflect the true essence of their words, and to present their kupu in a way that honours the honesty and integrity in which they talk about their own lives, the lives of their own whānau whakapapa and the lives of whānau whakapapa they work with everyday. Recognition that kaimahi whānau have shared the kōrero of their tūpuna with mine, has placed obligations on me to

share those kupu, with integrity and respect, and to be ever mindful of the purpose for sharing their kōrero with others. It is hoped that in sharing their kōrero, others will be encouraged to reflect on their own lives, the lives of their own whānau whakapapa and most importantly the lives of their tūpuna. For many of those tūpuna, their stories have not been heard. All their mokopuna need to hear them.

Weaving the voices of these kaimahi whānau, with the voices of other Māori and indigenous writers, is the focus of Chapter Five. The stories are similar, the opinions shared. The weaving has been developed to reflect my analysis of where kōrero could continue around this kaupapa. The weaving features a strong, vibrant pattern representing the strength and faith of our people to overcome the challenges of colonisation and restore rangatiratanga amongst all whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi in Aotearoa.

Finally, in Chapter Six I will discuss the implications of this study, and how the findings could be used to enhance whānau whakapapa development. The implications for social work are considered and future areas of research are identified. This study is by no means complete and will continue to be a focus of talking to people. The planned hui to present this kōrero to whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi will be another chapter that is already planned but not yet written. When this chapter is written and others follow, it is hoped that more people will be able to choose to exit the Matrix.

Chapter Two

ENTERING THE MATRIX

Some...have compared colonisation to a holocaust. Certainly if measured against the decimation that took place in the holocaust, as well as the extensive alienation of land, deculturation and the loss of power and autonomy, it had some of these characteristics. It was at least cataclysmic (Durie, 2003, p. 184).

Introduction

Colonisation has been and continues to be the experience of many indigenous peoples. This study argues that colonisation is insidious and that it is a process by which one group of people take over the lives of another people with little regard for their spiritual, physical, social or psychological wellbeing. Based on a belief in their own superiority, arrogance prevents the coloniser from even entertaining the idea that other people may not want to be taken over. It is argued in this study that to take over the lives of the colonised, the coloniser creates a programme or Matrix in which the worldview of the coloniser dominates.

This chapter will explore how the Matrix has been created in Aotearoa and consider what life was like for Māori before the colonisers arrived. With the use of local and international literature this study will reflect on the journey of Māori and other indigenous peoples in to the Matrix, consider the consequences of spending time in there, and identify some of the reasons why the colonised need to be able to exit the Matrix. Because this study focuses on exploring colonisation and decolonisation in a social work context, this chapter will also explore the concept of social work, and reflect on the role of kaimahi whānau, both inside and outside the Matrix.

It is argued in this study that colonisation is about access to resources and opportunities for the coloniser to recreate their own world in another land. As Memmi (1965) points out “The colonized is not free to choose between being colonized or not being colonized” (p. 86). Colonisation is imposed on the

colonised because it allows the coloniser to have power and control over resources. The colonised are forced, by various means, to enter the Matrix; a place where the colonised world is ignored or given little positive value. This has been, and continues to be, the experience of many indigenous peoples throughout the world. For many Māori this experience has disconnected them from their world before the Matrix; the world of their tūpuna.

Before The Matrix

Michael King (2003) through his writing paints a stunning picture of Aotearoa prior to human settlement. When Māori arrived, after voyages that reflected their navigational genius (R. J. Walker, 1990; King, 2003) they did not refer to themselves as Māori. Whakapapa provided the means by which Māori identified themselves, maintained supportive relationships and connected with everything around them including the physical world. Spirituality-the sense and the emotions associated with this connectedness-made all things, seen and unseen, of the past, of the present and of the future, alive and relevant. This thread of wairua permeated all relationships and activities, and ensured that the mauri (life force) inherent in all things, was acknowledged, valued and celebrated.

The physical environment of Aotearoa demanded immediate adaptation to ensure survival. Durie (2003) citing Te Rangi Hiroa suggests that concepts of tapu, noa and rāhui were utilised by tohunga to maintain boundaries around safe (acceptable) and unsafe (unacceptable) behaviour and activities. These measures were needed to ensure human survival in harsh conditions and conserve limited resources. Mana Atua, Mana Tupuna and Mana Whenua (Marsden, 2003; Davis, 2004) gave meaning to all relationships.

Survival required collective effort and planning to take advantage of seasonal opportunities and food locations. Whānau whakapapa shared resources and supported each other, and as settlements became more permanent, hapū would koha resources that they had more of to hapū in other areas. The reciprocal nature of these exchanges (utu), the importance of maintaining balance in all relationships and the desire to retain mana; “that which manifests

the power of the Gods” (Marsden, 2003, p. 4), ensured the koha would be returned.

Whānau whakapapa were inclusive of all members and respectful of the roles young and old, male and female played. Joseph (1997) describes how children would be chosen by elders from an early age because they showed a particular skill or talent. Often members of particular whānau whakapapa displayed particular talents. These children would be nurtured and guided by mentors who provided specific knowledge and training. Although roles were different they were always complementary and of equal value. Joseph (1997) identifies the role of kaumātua (elders) both male and female, as providing guidance, maintaining knowledge, managing resources and ensuring all members of the whānau whakapapa were adequately nurtured and protected. Kaumātua would speak on behalf of the whānau whakapapa. Along with tohunga and rangatira, they provided leadership.

Leadership was assigned through whakapapa position but maintenance of leadership was dependant on displaying commitment to the needs of the whānau whakapapa as a whole. The pursuit and maintenance of mana, as a collective, and by individuals in support of collective goals, provided a means by which all relationships were organised. Mead (1994), Mataira (1997), Vercoe (1998), Mikaere (1999) and Davis (2002) have written of the integrity of leadership; the commitment of leaders to the wellbeing and protection of all; the acknowledging and valuing of individual and whānau whakapapa strengths; and the important role leaders played in nurturing taha wairua. According to R. J. Walker (1990) “Social control...was maintained by an interlocking system of rank, mana, utu and spiritual belief...” (p. 67).

Makereti (1986) highlighted the special place of tamariki (children) in the whānau whakapapa. Children were nurtured and guided by all members of the whānau whakapapa to develop “good habits and a generous nature” (p. 143). Modesty was valued. The old people would impress upon children from an early age “how dear their home and lands were to them and to their fathers before

them..." (ibid, p. 151) and "the ways of the unknown which the Māori observed..." (ibid, p. 152).

Durie (2003) supported this reflection on affinity with the land and all aspects of the natural world and stated

All indigenous peoples have a tradition of unity with the land and the tradition is reflected in song, custom, subsistence, approaches to healing and birthing, and the rituals associated with death (p. 272).

Turoa and Tinirau (Joseph, 1997) reflected on the way respect for self, others and the environment was taught from an early age to ensure a positive sense of self, and confidence in social relationships. Strengths were acknowledged in a way that empowered individuals within whānau whakapapa, and gave meaning and purpose to life. Turoa highlighted the value and normality of human touch. "Human values such as trust, love, consideration and confidence came through human touching..." (Joseph, 1997, p. 60). Mirimiri (massage) was used to soothe children and pain, and touching was a natural and respectful means of expressing emotions.

Achievement and maintenance of wellbeing for Māori, embraced many of the concepts discussed above and many more. Positive wellbeing encompassed a broad concept of health. It was necessary for survival, ensured positive futures and allowed development of human potential. In terms of a literal understanding, being well can have different meanings, with different priorities for different people. Durie (2003) aligns a Māori concept of wellbeing, with a definition determined by the World Health Organisation after international consultation with indigenous peoples. He believes the 1999 Geneva Declaration on the Health and Survival of Indigenous Peoples provides a definition that represents well, the Māori concept of wellbeing.

...both a collective and individual continuum encompassing a holistic perspective incorporating four distinct shared dimensions of life. These dimensions are the spiritual, the intellectual, physical and emotional.

Linking these four fundamental dimensions, health and survival manifests itself on multiple levels where the past, present and future co-exist simultaneously (cited in Durie, 2003, p. 279).

It is possible to identify many more positive characteristics of life, before colonisation, for Māori in Aotearoa. It is also acknowledged that others could identify many struggles and negative characteristics. However this study does not promote a strict return to the way life was before colonisation. Some of the changes that came with colonisation were positive and welcomed by Māori. Durie (2003) highlighted “economic reform, education, new technologies and new foodstuffs” (p. 183) as positive outcomes of colonisation.

However, as stated earlier, the essence of colonisation is removing choice and imposing power and control. Māori in Aotearoa chose to maintain control when they first encountered non-Māori. This ability to choose was eventually lost by many. This study argues that Māori were robbed of the ability to choose. Attempts were made to destroy the foundations of their existence and force them to live in the Matrix where their philosophies and meanings were ignored or given little positive value. This was also the experience of other indigenous peoples in other lands. By exploring the means by which choice was taken and control imposed, it is possible to understand what it was, and still is like, for many living inside the Matrix.

The Matrix Is Created

The first non-Māori recorded account of Māori encountering non-Māori occurred in 1642 when Abel Tasman and his two ships entered a bay in the northwest corner of Te Wai Pounamu (South Island). The encounter was fraught with misunderstandings and misinterpretations of each others intentions and did not end positively for either Māori or non-Māori. It did result in the non-Māori name of New Zealand being given to Aotearoa (King, 2003).

Further encounters with non-Māori did not occur again until James Cook’s visit in 1769. Accompanying Cook on one of his visits was a Tahitian leader Tupaia, who was able to assist Cook in his endeavours to interact positively with Māori.

Despite initial altercations at Kaiti in Turanganui-a-Kiwa, Cook was influenced by the words of the Earl of Morton, President of the Royal Society and regarded Māori as

human creatures, the work of the same omnipotent Author, equally under his care with the most polished European...no European has the right to occupy any part of their country...without their voluntary consent (King, 2003, p. 104).

Use of the words creatures and polished indicate a sense of how Cook, and those with him, viewed the Māori they encountered, and the worldview in which they interpreted the values, activities and lifestyle of Māori. Despite a desire to observe and show respect, a sense of being “better” than “natives” seemed to influence their perspectives. This sense of being better became more dominant as interaction between Māori and non-Māori increased, particularly as non-Māori arrived in Aotearoa who were not as influenced as Cook, by the words of the Earl of Morton.

The effects of Cook’s recordings and journeys between Britain and Aotearoa were twofold. For the British, reports of resources-timber, flax, seals and whales-created interest in the economic gains to be acquired in Aotearoa. For Māori the introduction of metals, venereal disease, potatoes, fire powered weapons and knowledge of the wider world, ensured that life would never be the same (King, 2003).

While initially only some Māori were exposed to the changes that interaction with non-Māori brought, eventually all Māori were affected and changes in cultural patterns began to emerge. Some leaders were quickly apprehensive of the changes and worried about the future of their people. Others saw the changes as a means of enhancing their lives. Not until the changes started to affect the wellbeing of their people did they appreciate their true impact. By this time many of the social structures and controls that maintained collective priorities had begun to break down (R. J. Walker, 1990; Durie, 2003). This made a collective response to the negative effects of non-Māori contact difficult.

An attempt to achieve a collective response may have motivated some leaders to support the non-Māori initiated 1835 Declaration of Independence and the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi (Orange, 1987; Howe, 2003). At this time the Māori population was estimated to be 100,000 and the non-Māori population was estimated to be 2000 (Durie, 1994a). Whatever the motives for support, the misunderstandings, assumptions and worldviews that gave different Māori, British and early non-Māori inhabitants' meanings to these documents, were to set the scene for a play that has been acted out over three centuries in Aotearoa.

For many non-Māori, the Treaty of Waitangi gave them permission to make laws and decide how all people would live in Aotearoa (Orange, 1987; R.J. Walker, 1990). Underlying this interpretation was the belief that all people would be better off if non-Māori had power and control over all people in Aotearoa. Many Māori did not interpret the Treaty of Waitangi in this way. They believed non-Māori would have power and control of their own, but likewise Māori would retain power and control of their own and all those things that were a part of their world (Orange, 1987; R. J. Walker, 1990). As R.J. Walker (1990) explains, after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and the raft of events that followed in breach of the Treaty, the lives of many Māori leaders were consumed by considerations of how and when these two interpretations would be reconciled. Attempts to seek reconciliation dominated activities in te ao Māori from 1840 (R. J. Walker, 1990). For most non-Māori these activities were of little relevance or concern. They focused on ensuring as many non-Māori as possible were able to take advantage of the opportunities for economic development available in Aotearoa, now that they had power and control. It is this early disregard for the concerns of Māori that led to the creation of the Matrix by non-Māori in Aotearoa.

While many Māori initially succeeded in remaining outside the Matrix, others were drawn in because of legislation, sometimes supported by Māori, that exerted non-Māori power and control over important dimensions of te ao Māori. Many Māori would not have envisaged the extent of non-Māori desire to migrate to Aotearoa (Durie, 2003) nor the subsequent demand for land and resources.

The New Zealand Company organised the establishment of non-Māori settlements in various key locations around Aotearoa, sometimes where land was acquired by questionable land purchases from Māori (King, 2003).

As non-Māori settlement increased so did the desire for Māori land. Extreme pressures were exerted on Māori individually and collectively to sell land. While some transactions took place with mutual benefits, different meanings given to the concept of land ownership, enabled some non-Māori to use these differences to their advantage, whilst others made promises they never kept. By the time Māori organised themselves collectively to resist further land alienation, non-Māori population numbers had grown, legislation had sanctioned further alienation and Māori were reeling from the affects of disease, malnutrition and disempowerment (Vercoe, 1998).

The 1852 Constitution Act marked the beginning of a series of legislation that undermined Māori control of their own people and resources, and ensured dominance of non-Māori economic and political interests in Aotearoa (Vercoe, 1998). Unsuccessful attempts by Māori to be heard by the British Crown and subsequent settler governments, added to the frustration felt by Māori leadership.

Non-Māori attempted to quash all Māori resistance to government legislation by initiating many of the armed conflicts of the 1860s, and denying rights that were allowed non-Māori (Orange, 1987). This reaction by non-Māori to Māori resistance was never more evident than in the events that took place at Parihaka in 1879. Although the reliability of non-Māori accounts of events at Parihaka have been challenged (Riseborough, 1993), an account by Scott (1975) stated that at this time Te Whiti and Tohu were encouraging their people to passively resist attempts by non-Māori to survey their confiscated lands. Scott (1975) discussed the actions of non-Māori to thwart this resistance including the Māori Prisoners Trial Act 1879. In breach of Article Three of the Treaty of Waitangi this Act allowed Māori, unlike non-Māori, to be arrested and jailed indefinitely without trial. By the end of the 19th century Māori attempts to be heard were increasingly ignored. This situation was inevitable as the

numbers of Māori decreased and the non-Māori population came to outnumber Māori. Durie (1994a) states that by 1901, Māori numbered 43,143 while the non-Māori population had reached 772,719.

Many statements from non-Māori politicians and public figures in the late 19th century reflected the thoughts of non-Māori at the time. Judith Bassett, biographer of Premier Harry Atkinson, noted “he thought that the indigenous population should be utterly suppressed and eventually assimilated by the superior British” (King, 2003, p. 232). John Ballance as Native Minister, and subsequently as Premier believed “The Government knows what is best for Māori” (Keenan, 2004, p. 48). Reverend John Thornton, Te Aute College’s Headmaster in the 1890s believed “when a weaker nation lives side by side with a stronger one, the weaker, poorer and more ignorant one will die out if it does not emulate the stronger” (King, 2003, p. 329). This is in fact what many non-Māori expected would happen and blaming it on a lack of Māori spirit, they ignored the possibility that their attitude and what they brought to Aotearoa, was responsible for the spiritual, physical, social and psychological unwellness that many Māori faced.

Inside The Matrix

Records of legislation, accounts of Māori resistance and stories of hardship amongst whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi can now be found on the bookshelves of many libraries throughout Aotearoa. This is the history of our tūpuna and these stories have been shared amongst Māori on marae for over 150 years. Kaumātua have always spoken with those that have remained connected with te ao Māori, about the affect of these injustices on their own whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. Tainui leader Sir Robert Mahuta affirmed the importance of those stories in the pursuit of Waitangi Tribunal claims today (Diamond, 2003). Many hapū and iwi have been told, but are learning more, about the injustices and racism suffered by their tūpuna, through their involvement in the Treaty of Waitangi claims process, particularly as evidence is put in front of the Waitangi Tribunal.

It was not until Māori began moving from rural to urban areas after the Second World War that non-Māori were challenged to confront the reality of these injustices. For over one hundred years non-Māori development had continued with very little concern for the plight of Māori. While some legislation had been passed which soothed some of the hardship, many non-Māori were oblivious to the impact, they and their systems, had had on Māori. Many of the stories in Ihimaera's (1998) *Growing Up Māori* highlight the impact of non-Māori domination in Aotearoa, and the changes that took place in Māori communities and in the Māori psyche around this time and in following years.

The impact of Māori serving in the First and Second World Wars also became evident at this time. Many who had heard the stories of their tūpuna and who still retained their traditions, values, skills and beliefs, took part in those wars. Many never returned from the battlefield and were a great loss to their people (Soutar, 2000). Others returned wounded and scarred by the experience. It is argued in this study that even the decisions made by leaders at that time, to encourage Māori participation in those wars, supporting the British crown, were influenced by the Matrix, and the dominant views of the non-Māori population around the war effort, and what it meant for Māori. Many of the expectations, including rangatiratanga for Māori, were never met. Broadcaster Derek Fox believed racism, injustice and poverty continued for many on their return to Aotearoa (Stephens & Jennings, 2006).

Around this time more Māori came to describe themselves as having been colonised, recognising that the intergenerational affects of disempowerment over individual and collective lives, had affected the wellbeing of all Māori. Many Māori, if not living disconnected from te ao Māori, had at least succumbed to the view that the Māori worldview was irrelevant to te ao hurihuri (Joseph, 1997). Whether they did this consciously or subconsciously, the affect of these messages on their own wellbeing and the wellbeing of their descendants was becoming a reality.

This was also the reality for other indigenous peoples throughout the world. Many began to write about this reality. The ideas of Memmi (1965), Fanon

(1967), Freire (1972) and others have contributed to an international acknowledgement, at least by indigenous peoples, of the realities of colonisation and the racism embedded in the oppressive relationships between coloniser and colonised. Pere (1979), Awatere (1981), Durie (1985), R. J. Walker (1985) and Irwin (1988) have contributed to an understanding of how colonisation and racism have impacted on Māori, validating the strengths of te ao Māori and advocating the end of colonisation in Aotearoa. They have continued to write and speak in many forums, and have been joined by many others, to highlight the strengths of te ao Māori and promote their use in healing the effects of colonisation. They advocate the assertion of rangatiratanga (the right to be the rangatira that we are) and mana motuhake (the right to control our own world and those things that are part of our world) (Vercoe, 1998). However, this is difficult for many whānau whakapapa still struggling with the impact of colonisation and trapped inside the Matrix.

The Impact Of The Matrix

Entering the Matrix has not been good for Māori. Commentaries of the last three decades, paint a dismal picture. Although Durie (2003) stated that participation in Māori centred educational pathways including kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, wharekura and whare wānanga, had increased, four out of five Māori still participated in mainstream education, inside the Matrix. Durie (2003) also highlighted that many Māori did not have a secure cultural identity or access to te ao Māori. More recently he provided some sobering statistics that indicate the extent of this disconnection.

Fewer than one third of Māori are proficient in Māori language; less than one-half have access to traditional lands; only about one-half are enrolled on the Māori electoral roll; one fifth do not know their tribal origins; only about one-third have regular access to marae, and more than four-fifths live away from tribal areas (Durie, 2005, p. 45).

From the worldview of our tūpuna these statistics are the most significant indicators of unwellness for Māori today; the loss of connection with whenua tupuna and whakapapa, reflecting the imbalance in taha wairua. For our tūpuna,

those connections ensured the maintenance of Mana Atua, Mana Tupuna and Mana Whenua as sources of spiritual wellbeing.

The imbalance in other taha has created further unwellness. This unwellness has been well documented over the years in statistics and government reports. Despite some improvements and a reluctance to compare Māori with non-Māori, the statistics for Māori, in all age groups, continue to create concern. Durie (2003) highlighted child disability, diabetes, hospitalisation of under fives, respiratory disease, hearing impairment, mortality rate under 15, youth suicide, intentional self injury, attempted suicide, admissions and readmissions to mental health facilities, prison and forensic psychiatric facility populations, child health camp use, supervisory care, Women's Refuge use, use of alcohol and drug services, rates of physical abuse of children, access to early childcare, educational underachievement, drinking and cannabis use, gambling, low household income, single parent households, insecure accommodation and involvement in the justice system, as areas where Māori are represented in unacceptable numbers.

It could be suggested that these indicators of unwellness for Māori, are attributable to factors of poverty and socio-economic class, rather than the oppression of colonisation, motivated by greed and racism. Memmi responded to the claim that oppression was an issue of class. He believed there was always a possible escape for the coloniser to a higher class. "Theoretically at least, a worker can leave his class and change his status, but within the framework of colonization, nothing can ever save the colonized" (Memmi, 1965, p. 73-74).

Memmi (1965) and Fanon (1967) claimed that the greed that motivates colonisation would always create competition for resources. Armitage (1995) discussed this competition in relation to limited resources and believed "racial differences exacerbate competition because they provide an easily recognised boundary between the members of specific groups" (p. 223). The identification of racial differences between members of the same socio-economic class competing for further resources creates a situation where differences in race,

become more important than membership of the same socio-economic class. This is the reality for Māori of any socio-economic class, inside the Matrix. Racism justifies the coloniser's programme and ensures resources are more accessible to the coloniser than the colonised in any socio-economic class (Armitage, 1995).

An example of racism amongst my own whānau whakapapa has been documented in the *Te Waotu School and District Centennial Magazine* (Begbie, 1986). The story refers to our tupuna Taute Teimana (Harry Symonds) and the attitude of non-Māori towards him, despite the fact he had achieved, what non-Māori might consider individual economic success. The story relates to the ownership of two hotels in the area in the early 1880s. One was owned by a non-Māori and the other by our tupuna. The non-Māori hotel owner was having difficulty obtaining a liquor licence.

...a call of outrage was heard from the general public. One of the causes of such public outrage was the fact that the only other hotel accommodation available in the district for the weary traveller was by [as reported in the local newspaper] "that cute and intelligent specimen of the Māori, Harry Symonds." It then goes on to say, "But a house conducted by a native, however well that may be, the mere fact that it is a Māori house does not give it an air of attraction to the European mind" (Begbie, 1986, p. 19).

Stories of being ridiculed by non-Māori at school, and feeling that one wanted to hide the fact that one was Māori, are common amongst many whanaunga over several generations. Similar experiences have been discussed in Selby (1999). For many Māori, the fact they shared socio-economic class status with non-Māori, did not, and still does not, prevent them from exposure to racism from those non-Māori.

It is the inherent racism underlying colonisation that has had the most detrimental effect on the wellbeing of indigenous peoples throughout the world and in Aotearoa. Many of the contributors to Ihimaera's (1998) *Growing Up*

Māori and Greymorning's (2004) *A Will to Survive* discussed this racism and how it had impacted on their lives. Behrendt (2004) reflected on how "disheartened and lacking in confidence many Aboriginal people became when they were exposed to the mean-ness and hatred some teachers blatantly show towards Aboriginal children" (p. 38), in Australia.

Duran and Duran (1995), Turia (2002) and M. Jackson (2004) have discussed the impact of racism on the soul or spirit of a people over generations, highlighting the negative racist messages that permeate institutions, bureaucracy and the media. They believe continuous exposure to those negative messages has affected the psyche of indigenous peoples and contributed to the loss of meaning for many. This loss of meaning and resulting loss of relationship with positive self, has contributed to the unwellness many Māori experience (Joseph, 1997; Miller & Winders, 2000), and hindered the potential for positive social interaction with whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. As a result, the capacity of Māori to participate in the development of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, is not presently matched by their ability. Too many whānau are struggling to survive and trapped in lifestyles created by intergenerational exposure to colonisation (Durie, 2003). Within these lifestyles a positive sense of being Māori and a belief in the ability of te ao Māori to relieve their struggle, is denied.

Duran and Duran (1995) and Weaver (2001) have discussed the effect of the loss of relationship with land through colonisation. Because of the central value of genealogy in the lives of indigenous peoples, and the importance of the genealogical links to land, they claim the loss of relationship with land is like severing connections with family; with genealogy. They also believe the devastating effect of this on the spirit of people over generations, has been a major cause of unwellness amongst colonised peoples.

Inside the Matrix in Aotearoa, the loss of connection with whenua tupuna is widespread. Colonisation has always been about access to resources. In Aotearoa the resource has been land and legislation has focused on acquiring that land from Māori. This loss of meaningful relationship with whenua tupuna is

very real for generations of Māori today (Mikaere, 2000; Durie, 2003). Many whānau whakapapa have little whenua tupuna left to have a meaningful relationship with, or their interests are tied up in economic activity that does not allow the relationship to be lived and real. This is evident in the large number of owners in many blocks of whenua tupuna that are uncontactable to receive lease monies or to participate in land utilisation decisions (personal communication, 3 June, 2006).

Attempts To Exit The Matrix

So how are colonised peoples reacting to all of this? How are they striving for better wellbeing? How are Māori collectively utilising the strengths of tūpuna to exit the Matrix and pursue positive whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi development? Different people perceive different priorities.

More effective Māori leadership (Mataira, 1997; Vercoe, 1998), non-Māori relinquishing some power and control to Māori (Durie, 2003), an independent Māori political voice (M. Jackson, 2004; Selby, 2005b) and the development of Māori driven health and social services (Durie, 1994a; L. Ruwhiu, 1994, 1997; Jacob, 1995; Samuels, 1995; Terry, 1995; Walsh-Tapiata, 1999) are some of the options that have been pursued. Durie has acknowledged that participation of Māori in Aotearoa society has increased and that this has allowed for a greater Māori voice in many areas. However control still remains in the hands of non-Māori and “increased Māori participation has not been accompanied by any drastic improvement of Māori standards of living, at least not as compared to those of other New Zealanders” (Durie, 2003, pp. 139-140).

Decolonisation has been suggested by some (C. W. Smith 1994; Carter, 1998; Vercoe, 1998; L. T. Smith, 1999). Those advocating decolonisation claim it is necessary not only for Māori in their reclaiming of rangatiratanga (Vercoe, 1998), but also for the development of other indigenous peoples in other lands (C. W. Smith, 1994). Discussion around how decolonisation might happen, other than in an adhoc way for those who happen to be exposed to historical truths amongst whānau, at marae hui, in tertiary institutions or at organised employer workshops, has not received a lot of attention in the literature. As

highlighted earlier workshops provided by rūpū like Te Korowai Aroha o Aotearoa have been significant in promoting the concept of decolonisation. However there is no literature that advocates specifically for effort and resources to be put in to providing a facilitated process of decolonisation proactively in whānau whakapapa forums, for the benefit of those people inside the Matrix.

Because colonisation has been so insidious, Mead (1994), Vercoe (1998) and Mikaere (1999) point out that even Māori in leadership roles regarded as well connected to te ao Māori, would benefit from decolonisation. They claim that many of these leaders support and contribute to the maintenance of the coloniser's structures in Aotearoa, often replicating them in te ao Māori. Mead (1994) and Mikaere (1999) further claim that many tāne have adopted the coloniser's attitudes and beliefs towards wāhine and tamariki. This has affected the value and protection given to them within their whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi.

International writers support the need for decolonisation, though in differing contexts and with differing meaning. Memmi (1965) believes "the colonized's liberation must be carried out through a recovery of self and autonomous dignity...it is the colonized who must refuse the colonizer" (p. 128). This "self rediscovery of an entire people" (ibid, p. 134) begins with decolonisation. The final outcome of this process would be a people who do not define themselves by what they are in relation to those who colonised them, but a people who choose to be what they want to be and develop as they want to develop.

Freire (1972) proposed that leaders of the oppressed work with and amongst the people towards cultural synthesis, organisation and unity so that they can become fully humanised and freed from oppression. He promoted "problem posing education based on dialogue and communion" amongst leaders and people, claiming "liberation is a praxis: the action and reflection of men upon their world in order to transform it" (Freire, 1972, p. 52). Freire believed leaders must provide opportunities for people to reflect on the world they had, the world they are in, their journey there and the world they could have. However, he

cautioned leaders against imposing their ideas of what the world they could have looked like. The leader should only facilitate learning through problem based education.

hooks (1994) referred to a

...decolonising political process [as] the most important initial stage of transformation [being that] historical moment when one begins to think critically about the self and identity in relation to one's political circumstance (p. 47).

Her discussion on the importance of education focused on the role of the teacher or facilitator in creating “learning communities where everyone’s voice can be heard, their presence recognised and valued” (ibid, p. 185) Believing that education was holistic and must recognise one’s own lived experience as central and significant to learning becoming liberating, hooks (1994) advocated the “need to unlearn racism and to learn about colonisation and decolonisation” (p. 38). In discussion about the position of her people in the United States, she believed

...because the colonising forces are so powerful in this white supremacist capitalist patriarchy, it seems that black people are always having to renew a commitment to a decolonising political process that should be fundamental to our lives and is not...(ibid, p. 47).

Like Memmi (1965), Fanon (1967), Freire (1972) and hooks (1994) advocated the need for liberatory education amongst oppressed and colonised peoples, as the first and most important step in the process of decolonisation. They believed that once the oppressed knew more about themselves and the circumstances that had impacted on them; they would be able to transform their lives. The hope that this process provided was evident in a statement from one of hooks’ unnamed students “we can change the future and so I am reclaiming and learning more of who I am so that I can be whole” (hooks, 1994, p. 196). It is therefore possible that a facilitated process of decolonisation; of liberatory

education, could have potential in Aotearoa and in other lands to support colonised peoples to change their futures.

Social Work Outside The Matrix

The focus of this study is exploring colonisation and decolonisation in the context of social work practice in Aotearoa. By sharing kōrero with other kaimahi whānau I want to consider what role, if any, a facilitated process of decolonisation could play in positive whānau whakapapa development and wellbeing in Aotearoa. It is important then to consider what role social work has amongst the colonised, bearing in mind that social work is deemed to have its origins inside the Matrix, in the coloniser's world (Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers, 1993; Shaw, 1994; John-Baptiste, 2001; Harrop, 2003; Hibbs, 2005a).

One could question the appropriateness of the coloniser's social work practice in the lives of colonised peoples, when many of the social work issues they are coping with, originate from the colonisation experience. If exiting the Matrix programme created by colonisation is going to have a positive effect on whānau whakapapa development and wellbeing, then social workers might not be the most appropriate people to be supporting whānau whakapapa to exit the Matrix. By exploring what social work was before the Matrix, the need for the decolonisation of social work can be considered.

Jonson described pre-colonised Māori healing.

The traditional Māori way of healing was a natural part of life on the marae and occurred within the context of familial bonds. It was carried out by the whānau and hapū with the support and direction of kaumātua and tohunga (Ohlson, 1993). The process was often directive and at times difficult for those involved. Strongly worded things could be said, and eliciting a sense of shame was often a part of the process (Jonson, Su'a and Crichton-Hill, 1997, p. 23).

This view is supported by Turia.

Within the whānau, each individual was accountable to the group, and the group took responsibility for individual members. Tikanga were designed to maintain and reinforce bonds amongst the whānau. The survival and welfare of the whānau was paramount. This was how our tūpuna judged a situation. If the actions of an individual put the whānau at risk, they were wrong and could be punished (Selby, 2005b, p. 77).

It is unlikely that many of the problems encountered by Māori today would have been present in te ao Tawhito. Those that were, would have developed within a collective context. The retention of mana and balance of utu would have determined what course of action would be taken (Terry, 1995; Hakiha, 1997; Joseph, 1997; Mikaere, 1999). The idea of someone who had no whakapapa connection, participating in this process, would have been inconceivable given the social structure of te ao tawhito. Problems we might perceive as social today would have been approached in the same way as any other problem, by seeking balance with other dimensions: taha wairua, taha tinana and taha hinengaro.

Turia has commented on social work today inside the Matrix and how it is perceived by those outside the Matrix.

Currently, social work intervention could be equated with:

- *Creating unending intergenerational dependency*
- *Isolating tamariki from whānau, hapū and iwi*
- *Over-riding the wishes and decisions made by the whānau, often without prior consultation*
- *Using theories and practices which have a whakapapa which is not of Aotearoa (Selby, 2005b, p. 90).*

Turia has challenged social workers, as kaimahi whānau, to consider their role, the way they practise, and who they are working for, emphasising the importance of commitment to whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi.

...what is extremely important is knowing we are whānau, hapū and iwi. It is knowing where we are from, where we are going and when we die who will shed tears over us. It is to those people you must commit yourselves as whānau workers (Selby, 2005b, p. 91).

She believes “it is a challenge to us as Māori practitioners, educators and trainers to find out who we really are and in whose interests we are working” (ibid, p. 93).

Turia makes the same challenge as this study; if there is a role for a facilitated process of decolonisation in positive whānau whakapapa development and wellbeing then what role will social workers have. Outside the Matrix, in the context of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi healing, all whānau whakapapa members would take on the role of social worker. The role of kaimahi whānau would be reclaimed by all whānau whakapapa members. Turia’s challenge is to encourage those kaimahi whānau inside the Matrix to consider working with their own whānau whakapapa in a way that enables them to exit the Matrix.

Encouraging Exit From Inside The Matrix

Currently in Aotearoa, whānau whakapapa members are working as social workers and kaimahi whānau inside the Matrix, sometimes with their own, but often amongst other whānau whakapapa. Social work has been accepted by many contemporary Māori as a valid profession. Many have chosen to use the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna in their work inside the Matrix. *Te Komako*, the ANZASW (Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers) journal for Māori social workers provides many examples of how Māori social workers are utilising the taonga of our tūpuna in their practice (L. Ruwhiu, 1995; Dreardon, 1997; Pōhatu, 2003).

Whānau whakapapa, who come into contact with Māori social services and Māori social workers, are exposed to the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna, incorporated into the practice of those agencies and workers. But many Māori who are unwell, do not come into contact with any social service, or do not have access to Māori social services or Māori social workers. Many

Māori who do interact with mainstream social services interact with non-Māori social workers (J. Bradley, Jacob & R. Bradley, 1999) or even more sadly, choose to interact with non-Māori social workers. Many do not even identify as Māori because colonisation and the Matrix programme it has created has promoted such negative messages about being Māori (Carter, 1998). In terms of literature that promotes a facilitated process of decolonisation as a specific focus of whānau whakapapa healing or a model of social work practice, Te Korowai Aroha Aotearoa (2002) was the only material located. Te Korowai Aroha o Aotearoa has indicated that their workshops are available to whānau whakapapa.

Internationally (Weaver, 2001; Sinclair, 2004) and locally (Te Korowai Aroha Aotearoa, 2002; Selby, 2005b) there has been advocacy for the decolonisation of indigenous social workers before they work with colonised peoples. Weaver (2001) and Sinclair (2004) supported the decolonisation of social workers in their training. Te Korowai Aroha o Aotearoa promotes the decolonisation of kaimahi whānau and has recently gained support to provide advanced training to Māori practitioners working in the area of whānau violence within Project Mauri Ora 2004 (Selby, 2005b). As discussed earlier it is an expectation of Te Korowai Aroha o Aotearoa that workshop participants will share their learning with their own whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. Vercoe (1998) advocates the need for those that think they can fulfil this facilitating role to get out there and start educating others as soon as possible. C. W Smith (1994) promotes the idea that iwi become involved in providing liberatory education amongst their people. With iwi advocating whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi development and gaining access to more resources, their role is crucial.

In time there may be more literature focused on how kaimahi whānau are proactively facilitating decolonisation amongst their own whānau whakapapa. The current literature encourages them to at least critically analyse the role they are playing in the Matrix and to consider how they are supporting and strengthening whānau whakapapa to reclaim their roles as kaimahi whānau. It is argued in this study that all whānau whakapapa members have a role to play in the positive development and wellbeing of other whānau whakapapa

members, and the whānau whakapapa as a whole. Whānau whakapapa members have in the past had the traditions, values, skills and beliefs to support, educate and develop themselves. These taonga are still available to them today. Many of our people are unaware that they are, or do not feel confident to reclaim them.

Conclusion

This literature review has considered life for our tūpuna before the Matrix was created in Aotearoa. How the Matrix was created, how Māori entered it and what it is like for Māori inside the Matrix has also been explored. Some international literature around colonisation and decolonisation has been discussed. Finally the role of social work inside the Matrix has been considered and some challenges identified in terms of the need for such a role in the context of whānau whakapapa development outside the Matrix.

To determine whether Māori social workers as kaimahi whānau are promoting exit from the Matrix and initiating processes of decolonisation advocated in the literature and in this study, I shared kōrero with Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga kaimahi whānau. By sharing kōrero with them about social work before colonisation, colonisation, racism, decolonisation and social work today, I considered what role, if any, a facilitated process of decolonisation could have in positive whānau whakapapa development and wellbeing in Aotearoa. How the process of sharing kōrero took place, and what was shared, will be discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter Three

THE CHALLENGE OF RESEARCH

Knowledge (mātauranga) is different from knowing (mōhio). When illumination of the spirit arrives...then one truly knows, according to your ancestors. When the illumination of the spirit arrives in the mind of the person that is when understanding occurs-for knowledge belongs to the head and knowing belongs to the heart. When a person understands both in the mind and in the spirit, then it is said that person truly 'knows' (mōhio) (Marsden, 2003, p. 79).

Introduction

Any pursuit of knowledge takes place within the context of a cultural worldview (Marsden, 2003), therefore the cultural worldview of the researcher determines what values, ideas and concepts will inform their research approach. Marsden's statement clearly defines knowledge, understanding and knowing from the worldview of our tūpuna. The pursuit of knowledge, the pursuit of understanding and the pursuit of knowing motivates the process of research in the academic world.

In this chapter I will outline the challenges I faced as the researcher in the pursuit of knowledge, understanding and knowing from the worldview of our tūpuna, while also meeting the requirements of a non-Māori academic institution to attain a non-Māori academic qualification. My understanding in both the mind and in the spirit will ultimately be decided by my own whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. This chapter will describe how, by ensuring as much as possible that the research approach is from Māori, by Māori, with Māori and for Māori, those challenges can be met.

In this study, with the support of members of my whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, knowledge and understanding of colonisation and decolonisation have been pursued in the context of social work practice in Aotearoa. Also with support of members of my whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, I have pursued knowledge and understanding of the potential role of a facilitated process of decolonisation

in the positive development and wellbeing of whānau whakapapa in Aotearoa today.

In previous chapters the Matrix programme created by the machines in the movies, has been used as an analogy for the programme created by the coloniser in Aotearoa. Research has contributed to the creation of the Matrix in Aotearoa, from the earliest colonial explorers and their naming of “new” frontiers, to the more recent studies of social issues by government departments which Marsden (2003) claims often only look at “how, or the immediate why of events” rather than the “ultimate why of occurrences” (p. 56). This claim supports the view of this study that some of the contexts in which research takes place and some of the processes used, are influenced by the programme. Only by decolonising those processes and critically reflecting on research practice, can Māori researchers ensure that they are not agents of the coloniser, and supporting maintenance of the Matrix.

Māori, researching within the Matrix, are being challenged by their own to move towards different research questions and processes. L. T. Smith (1999) believes the need for the decolonisation of research practice is critical.

...the methodologies and methods of research, the theories that inform them, the questions they generate and the writing styles they employ, all become significant acts which need to be considered carefully and critically before being applied. In other words they need to be ‘decolonised’ (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 39).

Recognising this need, this research considered Māori research before the colonisation programme in Aotearoa, Māori research inside the programme and what is emerging as decolonised Māori research. Along with defining the concepts, practices and ethics that have informed the research design and the processes used; the role of the researcher, the participants, and the researcher’s whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi will also be described in this chapter.

Māori Research Before The Matrix

If research enables humankind to develop understandings about themselves, the world they live in and how they interact with that world, then research for Māori in Aotearoa was, and still is, necessary for survival. The importance of acquiring knowledge to ensure survival has required Māori to “work out ways of knowing...to predict...to learn and reflect” (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 12).

The harsh physical environment of Aotearoa required the accumulation of knowledge that would enable whānau whakapapa to secure resources and make the best use of them. While the skills and knowledge Māori brought with them to Aotearoa, would have been useful, other skills and knowledge needed to be acquired and retained. Stokes (1985), R. J. Walker (1990), Te Awekōtuku (1991), and Marsden (2003) describe the role of different whānau whakapapa members in acquiring knowledge in specific areas, and the need to protect this knowledge for future generations. This placed importance on how knowledge was recorded and passed on.

Marsden (2003) recounts the story of Tāne and his pursuit of Ngā Kete o te Wānanga. Often translated as the Baskets of Knowledge, the Baskets of the House of Learning is considered by Royal (Marsden, 2003) to be a more appropriate translation. The story tells of Tāne and his journey to the heavens and describes the contents of the three kete and their significance in the worldview of our tūpuna. Each kete contained knowledge of different worlds and in acknowledging each world there was recognition of the real worlds that existed alongside “the natural world around us as apprehended by the senses” (Marsden, 2003, p. 61). This knowledge of the natural world was obtained by Tāne in Te Kete Aronui.

Like any other race, Māori observed the world around us; noted recurring cycles and events, their regularity, deduced cause and effect and came to the same conclusions that most people come to. That knowledge and lore became part of general knowledge and was transmitted from one generation to another...Often we tested this knowledge and found it

trustworthy...Such lore was carefully stored and transmitted (Marsden, 2003, p. 61).

Te Kete Tua-uri held the knowledge of “the world where the cosmic processes originated and continue to operate as a complex series of rhythmical patterns of energy to uphold, sustain and replenish the energies and life of the natural world” (ibid, p. 60). Marsden explained that “we cannot prove the existence of this world by logical argument” (ibid p. 60) but in the worldview of our tūpuna, this world was accessed and experienced by those chosen and trained to do so.

Te Kete Tua-ātea contained the knowledge of “the world beyond space and time” which was “infinite and eternal” (ibid, p. 61). Marsden explained that this “eternal world of the spirit is ultimate reality” (ibid, p. 62) in the worldview of our tūpuna. In his definition of tohunga Marsden reflects the means by which access to this knowledge was attained. “The tohunga was a person chosen or appointed by the gods to be their representative and the agent by which they manifested their operations in the natural world by signs of power (tohu mana)” (ibid, p. 176).

Marsden confirmed the holistic worldview of our tūpuna. Understanding could encompass knowledge from one or more worlds. The interconnectedness of those worlds ensured that the influence of the spiritual realm was always given priority and utilised to provide further knowledge when required. Moon (2005) records the response of Hohepa Kereopa of Tuhoe when he was asked how he knew that Moon had succeeded in straightening a tree that had been bent seven years earlier when planted. Kereopa explained that the tree had told him, that it had communicated to him what it was thinking. He said “it’s a living thing, and all things that are living are able to tell things about themselves in their own way. You just have to know how to listen and understand” (Moon, 2005, p. 12). This statement illustrates the unseen ways in which knowledge might be gained and the importance of understanding in both the mind and in the spirit.

In considering the knowledge of these different worlds, and the accessibility of this knowledge, it is evident that the pursuit of knowledge by all for all was never

supported by the worldview of our tūpuna. Even within the story of Tāne and his pursuit of knowledge there are many layers of understanding that will only become known to some. This illustrates again the complexity of the worldview of our tūpuna, the significance of the spiritual realm in their lives, and the importance of transmitting knowledge in the form of stories that allowed the different layers of understanding to be known by members of future generations.

Stokes (1985) and Te Awekōtuku (1991) explain the important role of tohunga, kaumātua and rangatira in determining what knowledge was necessary for all whānau whakapapa members and what knowledge would be retained only by certain members. This ensured respect for certain knowledge, a respect maintained by the observation of tapu and the desire that knowledge be used only for the collective benefit of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, rather than individual gain. Knowledge at different levels was acquired by many means. Skills in the observation of changes in physical surroundings and events, in whānau whakapapa relationships, in behaviour, and in spiritual influences were acknowledged and celebrated. Different perspectives were valued from those who were active participants in those events or experiences. The importance of kōrero amongst whānau whakapapa members and amongst wider whānau whakapapa groupings or selected members at hui, allowed for different perspectives and responses to be heard and consensus reached on appropriate actions or learning to be retained for collective benefit.

Te Awekōtuku (1991) discussed learning of spiritual significance that increased knowledge of the previously unknown and confirmed that this would be transmitted to those holding special roles or skills. It would be expected that those people retained that knowledge and passed it on only to those who had the same special roles or skills. Access by others to any knowledge, was given in appropriate contexts and at the discretion of those who acquired the knowledge or protected it, on the understanding that it would be used for collective benefit, and that those using it would be accountable to the whānau whakapapa, hapū or iwi for its misuse. Retaining knowledge for future use and protection, placed importance on the recording and dissemination of acquired

knowledge to those who needed it. Te Awekōtuku (1991) acknowledges the phenomenal abilities of our tūpuna to recall knowledge from memory. The use of whakairo, raranga, tukutuku, kōwhaiwhai, tāniko, waiata, haka, pātere, karakia and whakatauki supported this recall, aided when necessary by the guidance of tūpuna and atua.

The acquiring of knowledge through learning was necessary for survival, and shaped the patterns of life for Māori in Aotearoa, prior to non-Māori arrival. The means of acquiring this knowledge was deemed valid and reliable, as Māori not only survived, but also developed very sophisticated frameworks for understanding their spiritual, physical, social, and psychological worlds. With the arrival of non-Māori in Aotearoa, the validity of those understandings was questioned. Many non-Māori undermined the value of Māori knowledge, either ignoring it or dismissing it as inferior to the knowledge that they brought with them from their homelands (Pihama, 1997). Many of the spiritual dimensions of knowledge were dismissed as heathen beliefs (King, 2003) and motivated missionaries to save Māori and lead them into the light of the civilised world.

Research Inside The Matrix

For the purpose of this study I have been selective in my discussion of research inside the Matrix. I have focused on the pursuit of knowledge, understanding and knowing developed in other lands, that has had, and continues to have, influence on te ao Māori. The concepts, theories and practices discussed are those I have deemed relevant to the kaupapa of this research.

With the arrival of non-Māori in Aotearoa, initially in 1642, and more permanently from 1769, knowledge arrived from other parts of the world. For those who came with “a sense of God-given racial and cultural superiority over other peoples” (King, 2003, p. 93) there was little interest in finding out about the worldview of the whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi amongst whom they settled. What they did observe they dismissed as insignificant to their own need to secure resources, or inferior to their own view of the world.

Others came with a desire to learn about the Māori world with what Marsden (2003) terms a know how approach. Descriptions of Māori life interpreted from a non-Māori worldview, often created distorted views of the world of our tūpuna to the outside world (Pihama, 1997). Although with good intentions the work of Elsdon Best has recently been criticised (R. J. Walker, 1990; L. T. Smith, 1999). Others like James Cook and Joseph Banks gave and recorded names of “new” landmarks and “new” species of flora and fauna (King, 2003). That it was deemed necessary to give these landmarks and species new names, when names already existed, is significant in the early stages of the colonisation process (M. Jackson, 2004). It marks the beginning of the pursuit of knowledge by non-Māori in Aotearoa. This research disregarded the existing knowledge of our tūpuna (Pihama, 1997) and came to influence the way the coloniser created the programme in Aotearoa.

As this programme was created, the research and knowledge of the coloniser was more highly valued. As the population of non-Māori increased and legislation was imposed that broke down the social structure of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, the transmission of knowledge and the pursuit of understanding in both mind and spirit, was undermined and lost for many Māori. The Matrix began. Inside the Matrix the non-Māori worldview came to dominate the pursuit of knowledge and understanding. This placed little value on the spiritual dimension of knowledge and understanding.

The arrival of non-Māori in Aotearoa coincided with the predominance of a positivist theoretical base to social research in Europe and America. This was brought to favour by Comte and others writing at this time (Sarantakos, 1998). Positivist theorists wanted

to develop modes of social inquiry couched within frameworks of the natural sciences. The theoretical tools and methods of the natural sciences were drawn upon in the development of a paradigm that would focus on “facts” and the measuring of “facts” objectively to be applied to the study of people (Pihama, 1993, p. 17).

Positivist research developed in line with the belief that research should be “objective, value free and scientific” (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 164). Biological determinism, based on evolution, natural selection and the social order; and later environmental theories based on the importance of external environment conditions; beliefs in the effects of material, cultural and emotional deprivation; and cultural difference, underpin the positivist approach (Pihama, 1993).

Positivist thought and research attracted a lot of criticism. Sarantakos (1998) believed this criticism was “centred on perception of reality, the methods it used, the relationship between [the] researcher and researched, the goals it served and the politics of research”(p. 2). Critics of positivist thought and research claimed that by celebrating facts, one assumed there was only one truth. This stance denied the existence of more than one truth and the validity of facts that were socially constructed by those from outside the dominant cultural group. Pihama (1993) and other critics claimed positivist research used objectivity to justify its findings as legitimate, to undermine criticism, and to maintain mechanisms of social control and injustice.

While it is claimed by Sarantakos (1998) that positivist research is still the most dominant type of research in the social sciences, criticism of the positivist approach to research has led to the emergence of alternatives. These approaches might best be described as perspectives or standpoints used by researchers to study the world. As well as a positivist perspective, interpretive and critical perspectives have gained support. “These three methodological perspectives vary from each other in how they perceive reality, people and research, human beings, science and research” (Sarantakos, 1998, p. 12).

The interpretive perspective places value on the “primacy of relationships over parts and the belief that the social world is comprised of complex and interwoven variables that cannot be isolated from one another” (Davidson & Tolich, 2003, p. 28). The critical perspective assumes that facts are created to serve the interests of dominant groups and therefore must be challenged to expose the power imbalances that exist. Research from this perspective must provide tools to empower people and give them more control over their lives

(Pihama, 1993). A critical perspective, combined with some aspects of an interpretive perspective (the meaning of language, symbols and connections) has been adopted in this research.

Within each of the three perspectives, also referred to as methodological perspectives, several paradigms or “sets of philosophical (ontological and epistemological) assumptions about what the world is made of and how it works” (Davidson & Tolich, 2003, p. 26) have developed. Davidson and Tolich define epistemology as how we know and what we consider the truth, and ontology as what we believe to exist in the world.

Methodologies are the models “entailing the theoretical principles and frameworks providing the guidelines to show how research is to be done” (Sarantakos, 1998, p. 11). The two predominant methodologies used in research are quantitative and qualitative. From inside the Matrix and a non-Māori worldview of research, the methodology of this research would be described as qualitative. Darlington and Scott (2002) have described qualitative research as requiring

a high level of ‘reflexivity’ or self reflection about one’s part in the phenomenon under study. For some qualitative researchers the questions they explore grow out of a strong ideological commitment and the pursuit of social justice (p. 18).

This research has grown from my own experience as Māori, amongst my own whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, and as a kaimahi whānau with a commitment to positive whānau whakapapa development and wellbeing in Aotearoa.

Davidson and Tolich (2003) describe qualitative research as inductive allowing theory and meaning to emerge “out of, and [be] organised round the exploration of data” (p. 104). They claim that qualitative research enables the researcher to gain “a greater depth of knowledge” (ibid, p. 119) and “to find out a great deal about what a small number of people think” (ibid, p. 122). As inductive research,

this study allows meaning to emerge from the sharing of kōrero with other kaimahi whānau. It is qualitative research because it is concerned with how others see the world and their experience of it (Darlington & Scott, 2002).

From inside the Matrix and a non-Māori worldview of research, methods are the tools or instruments used by the researcher to collect data. There are many different methods. Many of these methods have been used by Māori researching inside the Matrix. Some Māori have adapted these methods to fit their own cultural context. Two of the methods used in qualitative research are interviews and focus groups. From a non-Māori worldview, these words describe the methods employed in this research.

Māori Research Today Inside The Matrix

Until recently there have been few Māori scholars within the non-Māori university system that have completed research and conformed to the non-Māori protocols of research. However many Māori communities have been subjected to the process of research by non-Māori researchers. The negative experience this became for many, created distrust for academics, researchers and the research process (Stokes, 1985; Te Awekōtuku, 1991; L. T. Smith, 1999; Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003). Many Māori felt they had no control over what they were being subjected to, and could not see any positive benefits resulting for them, from the research that was taking place.

Examples of non-Māori participating in te ao Māori, and being approached by Māori to do research for them, are exceptional but acknowledged by many Māori as having been beneficial to Māori. These include the work of Michael King, Anne Salmond, Judith Binney, Joan Metge and James Ritchie. These non-Māori researchers developed close relationships with those they researched, gaining their respect and being trusted to represent their stories accurately for the benefit of future generations of Māori.

In 1977 a Health Research Unit was set up within the Māori Women's Welfare League (MWWL). From 1981 to 1983 the MWWL conducted a survey among Māori women on health. Although the term survey implies the use of non-Māori

research methods, the research took place within a Māori context and from a Māori worldview and as a result, has been described by Durie (1994a) as “a milestone in Māori research methodology” (p. 53). The resulting report *Rapuora: Health and Māori Women* (Murchie, 1984) provided valuable insight into the health of Māori women highlighting the spiritual dimension of wellbeing for Māori, and recommending future research amongst Māori take place within a Māori context. The report advocated a by Māori, with Māori, for Māori research approach.

Over the past thirty years more Māori researchers researching Māori have emerged. Some have started to question the ethics of non-Māori researching Māori and non-Māori research processes being relevant for research focused on Māori (L. T. Smith, 1991, 1999; Te Awekōtuku, 1991; G. H. Smith, 1992; Pihama, 1993; Irwin, 1994; Durie, 1996; Selby, 1996; Bevan-Browne, 1998; Cunningham, 1998; Kiro, 2000; Walsh-Tapiata, 2000; Cram, 2001; Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003). Emerging from this discourse is a reclaiming of Māori epistemology and ontology and support for the right of rangatiratanga and mana motuhake in Māori research. The right to be Māori and approach research from the knowing of te ao Māori and the right to control and make decisions about what is researched, how it is researched and who researches it, has gained predominance in Māori research literature. This legitimating of Māori philosophy and principles in research has reflected the legitimating of Māori ways of knowing in all aspects of te ao hurihuri and is referred to as kaupapa Māori or kaupapa Māori theory (G. H. Smith, 1992). Pihama (1993) and Kiro (2000) have aligned kaupapa Māori theory with critical theory. Pihama (1993) defines this alignment as being

in the act of exposing underlying assumptions that serve to conceal the power relations that exist within society and the ways in which dominant groups construct concepts of common sense and facts to provide ad hoc justification for the maintenance of inequalities and the continued oppression of Māori people (p. 56).

Irwin (1991) questions the need to align kaupapa Māori with any non-Māori theory, claiming naming Māori knowing does not require that Māori knowing fit into non-Māori knowing. It is this acceptance of Māori knowledge implicit in kaupapa Māori that reflects the desire by some Māori to see Māori research located outside the Matrix and totally centred in te ao Māori (G. H. Smith, 1992; L. T. Smith, 1999). Rata (2004b) has questioned the validity of this stance claiming that it only serves the interests of a fundamentalist ethnic elite and is “based on tribalism and traditionalism” (Wilson, 2004, p. 15). Rata (2004b), who is non-Māori, claimed that kaupapa Māori was based on irrational knowledge and was “exempt from critical scrutiny” (p. 3), believing it was used to justify separate Māori research and Māori research committees, and Māori control of research funds. Pihama (2004) dismissed Rata’s claims, believing they supported racist views, were made in self-interest, and with little understanding of kaupapa Māori. She believed many like Rata, were threatened by the reclaiming of Māori ways of knowing, that had been undermined by colonisation. G. H. Smith (1992), L. T. Smith (1999) and Cram (2001) are three of many Māori researchers reclaiming these ways of knowing.

Durie (1996) has identified three principles located in te ao Māori, that have relevance “to all aspects of the research process including research design and research ethics” (p. 6). The first principle Whakapiki Tangata is defined as enablement, enhancement or empowerment and implies that all research should create improvements in the lives of those researched or create greater opportunities for people to make decisions about their lives. The second principle Whakaurunga is defined as integration and implies research must consider the relationships “between past and present, the individual and the collective, the body, mind and soul, people and their environment, political power and social and economic spheres...”(Durie, 1996, p. 6). The third principle, Mana Māori, is defined as Māori control and implies that Māori have power and control over research about and for Māori. This protection and guardianship of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) is crucial. These three principles can be applied in considering the purpose, practice, people involved and politics surrounding any research proposal and might ultimately mean that

decisions are made amongst whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi that research about and for Māori, only takes place by Māori.

Decolonising Māori Research

Some Māori academics have taken this debate further and questioned the use of non-Māori research methodologies and methods in their work (Stokes, 1985; L. T. Smith, 1991, 1999; G. H. Smith, 1992; Pihama, 1993). Even use of the word researcher represents the worldview of non-Māori towards the pursuit of knowledge and understanding. Within the worldview of our tūpuna, challenge could be directed at the use of the word researcher and a person's own choice to adopt that role. From the worldview of our tūpuna, only certain people would be chosen to take on the pursuit of knowledge and then only in a particular area of knowledge. The pursuit of knowledge to support Waitangi Tribunal claims by whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi does however, often reflect the worldview of our tūpuna. The role of researcher, research methods and ownership of the research process remains in the hands of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, even though the Office of Treaty Settlements may provide support.

However, despite these opportunities for rangatiratanga in research, L. T. Smith's (1999) advocacy for decolonising research is still valid. This study argues that research by Māori within non-Māori and Māori settings is still strongly influenced by the coloniser's programme. The Matrix still dominates our research context in Aotearoa. A lot of Māori research takes place inside the Matrix and is reliant on funds created in the Matrix. Researchers, even from within a kaupapa Māori perspective, are often working within a Matrix funded system. The challenge is whether we can exit the Matrix and truly pursue knowledge and understanding from the worldview of our tūpuna. Doing so would require less reliance on Matrix created funds, a greater acknowledgement of the spiritual dimensions of the pursuit of knowledge and understanding, and an acceptance that we as academic researchers may not be the chosen pursuers of that knowledge and understanding.

While this research cannot claim to have taken place outside the Matrix, the challenge for me has been to come closer to an understanding of the spiritual

dimension of research, and to try as much as possible to pursue knowledge and understanding around the experience of colonisation and decolonisation, in a way that validates the worldview of our tūpuna. To meet this challenge I have made efforts to meet the three principles outlined by Durie (1996). Meeting these principles has ensured acknowledgement of the spiritual dimension.

To meet the principle of Whakaurunga I have acknowledged Ngā Kete o te Wānanga, described earlier by Marsden (2003) and ensured that relationships built around the pursuit of knowledge and understanding are anchored in the spiritual sphere. I have acknowledged the relationship that has developed between me and the research kaupapa and, in sharing the whakapapa to this research journey; I have acknowledged the spiritual influence this whakapapa has had on the research process and outcome. By meeting the principles of Mana Māori and Whakapiki Tangata I anticipate this spiritual influence will be positive.

From meeting these principles my approach to this research has evolved. The principle of Whakaurunga required integration between “the past and the present”, and “the body, mind and soul” (Durie, 1996, p. 6), and implied that the kaupapa being researched would emerge from Māori; from Mana Atua, Mana Tupuna and Mana Whenua. There was also implication within the principle of Mana Māori that the research would be undertaken by Māori and that the process would be a collective effort with Māori. Finally the principle of Whakapiki Tangata implied that the research would be motivated by the desire to see Māori reassert rangatiratanga and enhance their wellbeing; that the research would be for Māori. From these principles, a from Māori, by Māori, with Māori and for Māori approach has evolved.

From Māori, By Māori

The kaupapa explored in this research has emerged from the experience of my tūpuna, the experience of other whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi members, and from my own experience of colonisation. Other whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi members had been exposed to decolonisation processes and believed the kaupapa of this research to be valid. The pursuit of knowledge and

understanding of colonisation and decolonisation in the social work context evolved from my experience as Māori within te ao Māori. The support of my own tūpuna, whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi gives me validation as Māori to adopt the role of researcher and to research this area of knowledge.

This ensures that the principle of Whakaurunga, identified by Durie (1996) is met. The relationships between all spiritual, physical, social, mental and political spheres in this research have been acknowledged and validated by the researcher and other whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi members. The principle is also met because this research is exploring a process that encourages whānau whakapapa to enhance their own wellbeing and integrate the concept of Whakaurunga in their everyday lives. Exploring the potential of a process that allows our people to collectively revisit the past, look at the present in relation to that past, and then consider how we might change the future, is also part of this integrative approach.

With Māori

This research is undertaken with the support of my whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. Although the research opportunity was given in the pursuit of a non-Māori academic qualification in a non-Māori academic setting, all efforts have been made to ensure that whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi are informed and involved; and that the kaupapa of the research is of relevance to them. Knowing that the research has the support of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, and that the kaupapa of the research is of relevance to them, ensures that Māori want to be involved.

Being myself Māori, with Māori supervision, having sought iwi and hapū support, accepted hapū guidance, and having selected participants from my own iwi, this research has been developed and guided from Māori by Māori with Māori. This has ensured the principle of Mana Māori (Durie, 1996) is met. This principle is further met because the research is aimed at exploring a concept that has potential to support rangatiratanga and mana motuhake for Māori at the whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi levels.

For Māori

The non-Māori theory most aligned with the approach to this research is critical theory. This theory supports research that enables participants “to identify and act against unequal power relations” (Pihama, 1993, p. 12). It also supports research where the outcomes of the research can be utilised to enable people to regain control over their lives and challenge the status quo. In this research the kaimahi whānau interviewed have been given the opportunity to reflect on their own lives, the lives of their tūpuna, and the lives of their own whānau whakapapa and other whānau whakapapa that they work with everyday. This has created opportunities for them to consider the unequal power relations around them. They may now feel more confident to challenge those power imbalances and transform reality in their own personal and professional lives.

It is also expected that the outcomes of this research will be utilised to support other Māori to regain control over their lives and challenge the status quo. If there is a role for a facilitated process of decolonisation in the positive development and wellbeing of whānau whakapapa, then decolonisation will create forums for critical analysis of the power structures in Aotearoa, encourage more Māori to reassert rangatiratanga and create collective opportunities for Māori to challenge the status quo. From a non-Māori research worldview this research has adopted a critical methodological perspective.

Many Māori researchers have interpreted critical theory in their own way as relevant to Māori in te ao hurihuri, and extended the concepts in to kaupapa Māori theory and research approaches (G. H. Smith, 1992; Pihama, 1993; Kiro, 2000, Cram, 2001: Walsh-Tapiata, 2003a). A kaupapa Māori approach gives validation to a Māori worldview of knowledge, understanding and knowing, and encourages research that empowers whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi and allows them to reassert rangatiratanga.

This research adopts a kaupapa Māori approach. That I am Māori; that many of the concepts I discuss are known to me because I participate in te ao Māori; and that the worldview of my tūpuna is given validation in all aspects of the research process and is central to the notion of reasserting rangatiratanga

through decolonisation; determines that this research is kaupapa Māori driven. The principle of Whakapiki Tangata (Durie, 1996) is met not only by the kaupapa Māori approach to this research, enabling the involvement of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi; but also because this research has the potential to empower participants, and is focused on the potential role of a facilitated process of decolonisation to enhance wellbeing amongst whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi.

The Principles Of Tika, Pono And Aroha

Jahnke and Taiapa (2003) advocate the need for Māori researchers “to abide by a Māori system of ethics and accountability” (p. 49). While I have had to seek approval from the Human Ethics Committee of the University to proceed with this research, there have been other people and other ethics that I have felt more accountable to in this research process. The other people include my own tūpuna, whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi as well as the many kaimahi whānau working amongst our people in Aotearoa, and perhaps in other parts of the world. I am also accountable to the many Māori suffering inside the Matrix who have not had the opportunity to reconnect with the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna. Until they are reconnected with their whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi and participating in the positive development of our people and this nation, then we are all accountable to them.

I am also accountable to the principles of tika, pono and aroha, described earlier, and supported in the worldview of our tūpuna. They can provide measures of integrity and safety for all involved in the research process. In the same way researchers are expected to meet the ethical requirements of a non-Māori research setting, these principles provide the ethics in which to make any decision in a kaupapa Māori research setting. With this research it has been necessary to meet the requirements of both.

Research In Practice

Once a commitment has been made and a kaupapa chosen, the practicalities of the research process within a non-Māori university setting are negotiated and structured to meet the university requirements. Competent supervision within

this setting is crucial. Fortunately my whanaunga Rachael Selby, Ngāti Pareraukawa and our Head of School, Professor Robyn Munford have been invaluable. Support to apply for Graduate School Funds, attend appropriate workshops, submit a Low Risk Notification to the Human Ethics Committee at Massey University and guidance with appropriate literature has been provided by women who are respected for their writing and research skills in the Māori and non-Māori worlds.

The ethics process at Massey University requires attention to the issues of informed consent, confidentiality, minimising harm, truthfulness and social sensitivity. My intention to share kōrero with other kaimahi whānau from my own iwi minimised the ethical issues foreseen within the University guidelines. The issues requiring attention were addressed and so although a full Human Ethics Committee application was completed to the satisfaction of my supervisors, it was not necessary to submit the full application to the Human Ethics Committee. Instead I had only to submit a shortened Low Risk Notification (see Appendix) which was approved.

In completing the Human Ethics application the issues of concern to me were those related to the informed consent of my whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi; those that ensured the research processes were tika from the worldview of our tūpuna; and those that supported pono and aroha guiding decisions regarding the sharing of kōrero and the manaaki given to kaimahi whānau involved. From my perspective, the committee that would decide if these ethics had been met would be my own whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. It was more important that I sought their approval and support. Like other researchers before me (Selby, 1996; Kiro, 2000; Walsh-Tapiata, 2003a), an essential part of the research process was to gain their approval and support for the processes I was going to use. Although many were aware of my intentions and had played a part in the development of my research kaupapa, I needed to formalise this support. I regularly attend the gatherings and hapū hui of Ngāti Te Au, so it was not difficult to formally inform my own hapū of my research intentions. Many of my whānau whakapapa were present. Their approval and support was given.

It was also essential that I formally gain the approval and support of my own iwi. Having made direct reference to Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga in the title of my research and wanting to interview Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga kaimahi whānau, the outcomes of this research would reflect on the mana of the iwi. It was also important to acknowledge Te Rūnanga o Raukawa's commitment to decolonisation, and the opportunities they had provided for staff to participate in decolonisation workshops with Te Korowai Aroha o Aotearoa. My own experience as an employee of Te Rūnanga o Raukawa, and a participant in one of those workshops, contributed to the development of this research kaupapa. The Toiora Whānau Committee was the place to start.

The Toiora Whānau Committee is a committee of Te Rūnanga o Raukawa that oversees the activities of the social service team. Comprised of interested hapū representatives and providing guidance to the Toiora Whānau Social Service team, I felt I needed their formal support before I could start to contact kaimahi whānau, even though I was not intending to limit participants to their employees. I anticipated the process would involve meeting with them and then meeting with the Whaiti of Te Rūnanga o Raukawa, the wider group of 24 hapū representatives who govern the operations of the iwi. This process was similar to that taken by another Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga researcher, Walsh-Tapiata (2003a).

Attendance at the Toiora Whānau Committee meeting where I presented my research proposal was brief. My University supervisors were unable to attend because of travel commitments, but an aunty accompanied me for support. The Toiora Whānau Committee gave verbal feedback to my research proposal and suggested another iwi supervisor. The idea of another mentor from the iwi to complement Rachael's role and the role of my tūpuna was acceptable and the Committee advised me they would contact me when they had selected suitable mentors and advised the wider Te Rūnanga o Raukawa governance group.

Several weeks later the Chairman of Toiora Whānau Committee met with me and advised that the Committee supported my research. They had selected several members of my own hapū who would be suitable mentors, advised they

would not need to take the matter to the wider governance group and offered support and guidance when I might need it. It was agreed that I would provide feedback to them once the research was completed and that that might be a more appropriate time to present to the wider governance group. My mother's brother Edward Whatanui (Ted) Devonshire, his wife Manurere Devonshire, and my mother's cousin Manu Kawana, had been suggested as members of my own hapū that could provide appropriate guidance and protection for this research. That they were members of my own whānau whakapapa made their choice even more significant to me. I approached them all and they agreed to provide this. Their support has been invaluable.

Other Māori researchers write about the need to follow processes outside the non-Māori university setting to gain support for research proposals and to ensure the research is mandated by the people for the people (Kiro, 2000; Walsh-Tapiata, 2003a). In this process I am an insider not only as Māori researching Māori, but as an iwi member researching amongst members of that same iwi. I am also an insider in that I work in the social work field and am interviewing kaimahi whānau. While the positioning of the researcher as an insider creates concern around researcher/participant boundaries, bias in data, and access to other information (Kiro, 2000), within the kaupapa Māori framework, research by Māori, for Māori; that takes place from an insider position is more likely to have credibility in te ao Māori (L. T. Smith, 1999; Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003; Walsh-Tapiata, 2003a). Whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi are more likely to feel connected to the research and to trust the motives and integrity of one of their own. More importantly they have the processes to ensure that one of their own is sanctioned for any breach of trust or integrity. These processes are more easily activated when the researcher is accountable to their own whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi.

The Participants

After participating in the Te Korowai Aroha o Aotearoa workshop with other kaimahi whānau at Te Rūnanga o Raukawa, many of us discussed the process and how it might be liberating for others. When the opportunity was given for me to research this kaupapa it was logical that I kōrero further and more formally,

with some of those other kaimahi whānau. I was also aware that there were other members of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga working as kaimahi whānau in other agencies around Aotearoa and that their experiences would provide other valuable perspectives to the exploration of colonisation and decolonisation in a social work context.

It was important to me that those I shared kōrero with, had experience amongst whānau whakapapa in various settings. Listing the Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga kaimahi whānau that I knew and talking to other whanaunga, I was able to identify a pool of potential participants. The kaimahi whānau identified had years of experience working paid or unpaid, with whānau whakapapa in various settings including hapū and iwi services, Māori rōpū, community agencies and government departments. All were well connected with, and participated in, te ao Māori. To ensure there was balance between the wahine and tāne voice, five wāhine and five tāne were selected from the pool. Equal voice was also given to those who had been employed within the Toiora Whānau team and those who had not. Further selection was made to give voice to most of the 24 hapū of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga. One kaimahi whānau was not selected because of involvement in other research projects.

The ten kaimahi whānau selected, where possible, were initially approached kanohi ki te kanohi. For others the first contact was made by phone call, with follow up kanohi ki te kanohi, where possible. Information sheets and consent forms were mailed to those who had been selected from the pool. Those selected were informed that the sharing of kōrero would be audio taped with their consent and that I would transcribe all tapes. The opportunity for those selected to be interviewed within the time frame available determined who was interviewed. One of the selected kaimahi whānau was unavailable so another kaimahi whānau was selected from the pool. That kaimahi whānau and the nine originally selected were able and willing to participate.

Sharing Kōrero

Using non-Māori descriptions, the method by which I gathered the experiences of these Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga kaimahi whānau was, by semi-structured

in-depth interviews with six that lived throughout Aotearoa; and by a focus group with four who lived locally. I prefer to describe the interviews and focus group with kaimahi whānau, as hui. The sharing of kōrero took place over the summer months, after the festive season, which is often a busy time for kaimahi whānau. Suitable dates and times were negotiated and arrangements made to meet at the participant's home or work venue. Some participants preferred to meet at other venues and so this was accommodated and arranged.

Arrangements were made with four of the kaimahi whānau who lived within the rohe of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, to meet at Paranui Pā, Himatangi for the focus group discussion. Kai was provided. All sharing of kōrero was recorded on audio-tape with prior written consent from the participants. All participants in the focus group and all participants interviewed were given the option of having the tapes of their kōrero returned to them or destroyed at completion of the research. For the focus group the option was given to have the original tape copied and given to each participant. Most participants chose to have their tapes returned. Assurances were made again, before the sharing of kōrero, that the tapes would be kept in a locked chest in my home and that I would transcribe all tapes.

Many of the participants were more proficient than me in te reo Māori. As a result of this, I explained to them that it would be difficult for me to share kōrero with them in te reo Māori. If this meant they would prefer not to participate then that choice was offered. While many of the participants would have preferred to share kōrero in te reo Māori, they consented to taking part and sharing kōrero in English.

Discussion took place around confidentiality of participants' identity. While initially some participants were content with their identity being known, after the kōrero for inclusion in the thesis had been selected and the kōrero presentation chapter written, I suggested that the participants be identified only as kaimahi whānau of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga with many years of experience in government, community and iwi agencies throughout Aotearoa. The participants

agreed. The sensitivity surrounding the kōrero around social service agencies was the motivation for offering this option.

It was important from the start of this research project that the environment in which the participants were interviewed was comfortable and that kai was provided. It was also important that participants be offered a koha for the time they were prepared to give to the research process. Kiro (2000) and Walsh-Tapiata (2003a) acknowledged the importance of reciprocity in research practice. While it is not offered as an incentive to take part; the time and effort participants have given to the research is acknowledged by way of koha at the end of the research process. Without the participants' willingness to contribute, the research would have no value. While the research is completed in the hope that the outcome can be of future benefit to Māori, the reality is the project was initiated to meet the requirements of a non-Māori university degree granted to an individual on successful completion. The participants are therefore contributing to the researcher's personal gain. It is important that this be acknowledged as well.

There was a feature of the research process that I had not fully anticipated. Participants in the focus group hui requested that they see drafts of the chapter presenting their stories before being forwarded on to supervisors and included in the final copy. This request was made out of concern for the often placing out of context or misrepresentation, of kōrero from research and media interviews. In light of references in the literature to the misuse of information and statements (Pihama, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999), it was a valid request. I gave this option to all other participants and as a result the first draft of the kōrero presentation chapter was read and approved by kaimahi whānau before it was submitted to mentors and supervisors.

Before meeting to share kōrero most participants, had been sent written material that included quotes from various writers related to colonisation and decolonisation, and some questions posed in relation to those quotes. Those quotes and questions formed the framework for the sharing of kōrero. However, often the hui were governed by the desire of the participants to spend more time

on particular questions. At first this created anxiety for me. I was concerned that perspectives on certain aspects of the kaupapa would be lost because of time constraints related to other commitments for the participants. However as the sharing of kōrero continued and the principle of pono in the process was acknowledged, concerns were allayed. With the focus group hui, the participants themselves suggested they reconvene to continue kōrero. They set the time and date for a second hui and decided on the same venue.

It became evident that some participants, veiled their responses to the quotes and the related questions, with other kōrero. This necessitated listening carefully for the layers of understanding. These participants encouraged listening with mind and soul. Some of the participants provided their responses by sharing analogies, referring to whakatauki and by acknowledging tūpuna and other rangatira in te ao Māori. Although kōrero was shared in the English language, many participants used Māori kupu and phrases. It was therefore important that I had some knowledge of te reo Māori for listening and transcribing.

Analysis Of The Kōrero

Throughout the sharing of kōrero I was very aware of the spiritual significance of this process. In sharing kōrero with each other we were also sharing kōrero between our tūpuna. In sharing kōrero around the experiences of colonisation and decolonisation amongst our whānau whakapapa, the pain and loss expressed, often created strong emotions for the participants and I. The need for karakia on the way to and from a venue, and before and after the sharing of kōrero was important for me. After meeting with participants, I often felt the need to use water to make noa the venue or cleanse my own wairua.

The need to acknowledge tūpuna guidance and the sacredness of kōrero shared influenced activity in relation to the transcription and analysis process. Karakia at the start and end of the day, acknowledged the day's research tasks. Before and after transcribing each portion of kōrero, my hands were cleansed. During the process I refrained from eating and ensured that all tapes and transcripts did not come into contact with food. This same kawa was followed at

the stage of kōrero analysis and writing. The principle of tika informed this activity. Knowing it was right to acknowledge the spiritual significance of the participants' and their tūpuna kōrero, ensured that all activity related to their kōrero, took place with reverence and was connected to more than what was perceived in the natural world.

Using the themes that emerged from the literature, that had determined the quotes and questions discussed in the sharing of kōrero, I identified from the transcripts, those responses that related to those themes. Transcripts were marked in pink highlighter pen to indicate possible kōrero to be quoted in the text, and yellow to indicate ideas that might be used in the text. Unedited transcripts were sent to each participant by signature required courier. While participants read over the transcripts, I began writing the kōrero presentation chapter. Assurance was given to participants that full transcripts would not be available to any other person including supervisors or mentors.

Once approval was given by each participant to use their kōrero or ideas, and any corrections were made, the draft kōrero presentation chapter was sent by mail to each participant, for their approval. While participants read over this chapter, I continued writing other chapters. Until all participants had approved the draft kōrero presentation chapter, this chapter and further chapters were unavailable to supervisors or mentors. It was considered to be important and tika that participants had the opportunity to comment on how their kōrero was presented, before it was viewed by others.

From within this context the analysis began. The decision was made that the analysis would acknowledge the themes identified in the literature and used in the interview framework, as well as the themes that emerged from the participants' responses to those themes. In this way the analysis would require the weaving together of the themes presented to the participants, and the themes presented by the participants. It is difficult for me to articulate how the themes presented by the participants were recognised. This, to me, is an example of how knowing must result from an understanding of the mind and of the spirit. The themes were recognised by listening to the words. Listening in

this way acknowledged the influence of other unseen worlds and has been claimed by our tūpuna to be a valid way of receiving knowledge (Moon, 2005). By reviewing the participants' kōrero under the themes I had presented to them, and listening to what had been said, the themes presented by the participants emerged. That the themes wove together and that writing of the analysis chapter flowed indicated that those themes were tika, and that it was right they be used.

The themes that were presented by the participants were suffering, loss, strength, and faith. In the analysis those themes will be woven with the themes of social work, colonisation, racism and decolonisation. The Matrix will be used to structure the analysis with acknowledgement made of the whare tapa whā framework and the concept of rangatiratanga. I believe those are the themes our tūpuna wanted us to hear and this is the context in which the analysis should take place. Despite the devastating effects of colonisation and racism, the themes that emerge are positive. Despite the suffering and loss that they see in their work, the kaimahi whānau represent and celebrate strength, and have faith in a positive future for their mokopuna.

Meeting The Challenges

The most significant challenge in undertaking this research has been finding balance between meeting the research requirements of a non-Māori academic institution and being accountable to our tūpuna, in the way that knowledge, understanding and knowing is pursued. Having the guidance of my own tūpuna and my own whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi has been important in working towards this balance. Whether this balance has been achieved will be determined by my own whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi after presentations back to them over the coming months. Also to be determined by them is the extent to which the conclusions of this study can contribute to positive whānau whakapapa development and wellbeing.

At times I have been challenged to explore the influence of a non-Māori worldview on my own tūpuna worldview. Determining if there is a place for both worldviews in this research process has been important. Literature indicates

that there is a place for non-Māori processes, alongside Māori tikanga in Māori research endeavours. Completely decolonising the research process is difficult. A lot of Māori research like this research takes place in the context of two worldviews. However this research, has critically reflected on all aspects of the research process, and sought spiritual guidance to decolonise those elements that could be, particularly the research approach, accountability to whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, and utilising the principles of tika, pono and aroha.

Time has been an important element of this process. The request by participants to read draft chapters necessitated the need for more time in getting chapters to mentors and supervisors. This has however been easily accommodated and ensured that the process has been tika. The use of research funds for koha to participants was also identified as a challenge within the non-Māori academic research setting. Financial procedures determined that research funds could not be used directly in this way. Acknowledging that koha should include some personal contribution and to allow funds to cover monetary koha to participants and kai, other financial arrangements were made and a personal contribution added to the research funds.

Conclusion

This research has been informed by my own personal journey, the journey of my tūpuna and my experience of social work and te ao Māori. Kaupapa Māori theory aligned with critical theory has guided the development of the research kaupapa. The principles of Whakapiki Tangata, Whakaurunga and Mana Māori (Durie, 1996) have been met in deciding on the research design. Tika, pono and aroha have guided research decisions and maintained integrity of a research approach from Māori, by Māori, with Māori and for Māori.

That this research has been initiated from within a non-Māori academic setting is acknowledged. However, in reviewing research before the Matrix, inside the Matrix and for Māori today, this study concludes that kaupapa Māori research is not only relevant, but also necessary for positive Māori development. What informs research, how it is practised and by whom becomes significant. Credibility for research by Māori inside and outside the Matrix becomes

possible. Provided that the researcher has considered decolonising methodologies (L. T. Smith, 1999) and locates herself within her own worldview, research practice can be empowering for participants, and research outcomes can contribute positively to whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi development.

I am honoured that ten kaimahi whānau of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga agreed to participate in this research. They have challenged me to consider decolonising methodologies and to reflect on my own worldview. They have ensured that the outcome of this research will contribute positively to whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi development. Giving voice to their stories in the following chapter, confirms that we can pursue knowledge and understanding by simply sharing kōrero and listening to each other.

Chapter Four

GIVING VOICE

...the loud voices and strange silences of others hide our loss...our children will need to break the silence and tell our stories once again...(M. Jackson 2004, p. 107)

Introduction

This comment from Moana Jackson's Ngāti Kahungunu tupuna Te Ataria, in 1892, highlights the importance of giving voice to the stories of the past. The sharing of stories helps us to know where we have come from and to understand who we are. If there were any doubts that colonisation had a devastating impact on the lives of our tūpuna, then the stories of these kaimahi whānau of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, will dispel those doubts once and for all. In their own stories, the stories of their whānau whakapapa, and the stories of whānau whakapapa they have supported for many years amongst their own, and other iwi, there is suffering and loss. There is also celebration of the strength of our people and faith that the wellbeing of our whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi will improve in Aotearoa.

This chapter presents the voices of the kaimahi whānau who were interviewed, highlighting their experiences and perspectives on social work, colonisation, racism and decolonisation in Aotearoa. Their understanding of social work before colonisation and their experiences of today's social work environment will be shared. They explore definitions of colonisation and present their views on the impact it, and racism has had on Māori in the past and today. Finally, they speak to the potential role of a facilitated process of decolonisation in positive whānau whakapapa development and wellbeing.

When sharing kōrero with the kaimahi whānau I did not ask them to define their meaning when they used the term whānau. Because of this their kōrero will be shared without distinction made between whānau and whānau whakapapa. It is likely that by using the word whānau they were referring to whānau whakapapa but this is not a given and will be discussed again in the following chapters. In

the text surrounding the kaimahi whānau voices, I have made the distinction of whānau whakapapa when appropriate.

The sharing of kōrero with kaimahi whānau focused on the themes identified in the literature; social work, colonisation, racism and decolonisation. In presenting their voices there has been a desire to honour the strength and richness of the kōrero shared. This is another aspect of the challenge, discussed in the previous chapter, to ensure that tika, pono and aroha guide research taking place in all settings. The principles of tika, pono and aroha obligate me to present the voices of the kaimahi whānau and their tūpuna, with humility and respect, and in a manner that honours the mana of their kōrero.

To meet this obligation, I have chosen to allow the voices of the kaimahi whānau who were interviewed in this research, to dominate this chapter. In this chapter, the voices of the kaimahi whānau are presented, around the themes identified in the literature, with short summaries provided to highlight important points and the themes that emerged. Some of the kōrero I have chosen to share in this chapter, is extensive and detailed but it has been included to ensure that the significance of the kōrero is not lost and the mana of the speaker retained. Although I have chosen to provide minimal discussion around the voices in this chapter, the kōrero presented here will contribute to discussion in the next chapter, where the themes of suffering, loss, strength and faith that emerge from listening to these voices, will be used to consider what role, if any, a facilitated process of decolonisation could have in positive whānau whakapapa development and wellbeing.

Voices On Social Work Before Colonisation

Acknowledging that the origins of the social work profession, as we know it today, lie within the non-Māori theories of psychology, sociology and human development (Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers, 1993; Shaw, 1994; Harrop, 2003; Hibbs, 2005a), it is not surprising that the kaimahi whānau interviewed in this study thought social work as it is presently practised, would be irrelevant to pre-colonised Māori society. Their responses to the notion of social work before colonisation in Aotearoa will be presented, along

with their reflections, first on the social structure that supported wellbeing, and then on the processes and roles that contributed to the continued maintenance of wellbeing.

Kaimahi whānau in this study confirm the thoughts articulated by Durie (1994a) that a sense of wellbeing for Māori involved more than good physical health and relied on a balance of spiritual, physical, social and psychological influences. Reverance for relationships with all entities, living and dead, ensured good spiritual health, critical to the achievement of balance and wellbeing.

...families had and knew their responsibilities...believed in their responsibilities...acted upon their responsibilities...it was part of our lives...our way of being...it was natural...we looked after each other...we looked after our environment...we looked after our bodies...we looked after our mokos...our children...we were actually in balance...we had a timetable for everything...there was a time and purpose for everything.

Accompanying this nurturing and respect for relationships were rules of conduct determined by tikanga and kawa, and bounded by the concepts of tapu, noa, utu and muru.

...things were done in a particular way for particular reasons and that was the tikanga...that was the kawa.

Whether social work as such took place in Māori society before non-Māori arrived in Aotearoa, was another notion questioned by some kaimahi whānau. The collective nature of the society ensured interdependence between individual whānau whakapapa members, whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. Roles were defined, accepted and utilised to provide support when issues arose.

...our tūpuna would have all been social workers because we were whānau orientated...if something happened to someone the whole whānau would gather.

...the structure would be such that there wouldn't really be a need for it [social work] because of the support that was within the whānau...the kaumātua had a place...even the mōkai had a place...they had their decision making structures...their tohunga...the specialists in various fields.

...it would start with the women...the whaea...the kuia...and there would be kōrero around issues and problems within whānau...if there was a feeling that tohunga and wairua became involved...then it got bigger...it would be a whole system of people...not just a person...a community whānau hapū and iwi thing.

...every individual in a Māori whānau had a role to play...so there wasn't a social worker...it was whānau healing...everybody had a role to play.

One kaimahi whānau commented on the wellness of Māori at this time.

...I don't think we would have needed social workers...I don't think we were that unwell...to have a group who went around doing social work.

...our foundations like our spirituality...our education...our economic base...our whenua...our whānau...all that foundation was already in place...we were actually quite a healthy people.

Support provided by members of the whānau whakapapa ensured the continued maintenance of wellbeing. The role of wāhine, as transmitters of whakapapa, as educators of tamariki and mokopuna was confirmed, and special significance given to the balance between male and female roles within the whānau whakapapa.

...we were a maternal culture...[women] were valued in whakapapa...wairua...nature.

...the kuia...our kaumātua...their roles as puna mātauranga...there was a lot more balance...the roles were clear.

Roles of all members of the whānau whakapapa were valued. Women and men shared roles and valued each others roles, ensuring that mokopuna could see that value and pass on that value, to future generations. Tāne contributed equally to the upbringing of children, actively involved in their development and the acquisition of skills for survival.

The high value placed on kaumātua guidance ensured their central role in decision making within the whānau whakapapa. They nurtured the young while parents worked to ensure survival needs were met and whānau whakapapa goals achieved. Kaumātua knowledge was valued, and utilised to ensure balance and harmony was maintained in whānau whakapapa relationships. When relationships were strained kaumātua, rangatira and tohunga directed processes to ensure balance was regained.

For many kaimahi whānau, in contrast to what they see today, the area where balance was most maintained was in terms of wairua and this was ensured by the role rangatira, kaumātua and tohunga played in the whānau whakapapa and hapū. One kaimahi whānau talked about the role of matakite alongside tohunga, finding healing solutions for wairua. Another kaimahi whānau spoke of the type of issues that whānau whakapapa would deal with before non-Māori arrived in Aotearoa, believing that many of the fundamental relationship, parenting and illness issues, that exist today, would have existed then too. However the context would have been different and the focus would have been on the effects amongst whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, rather than at an individual level.

...not so much the core types of problems that happen to a lot of communities and people but how they were dealt with.

Exposure to new structures, systems, values and processes began in the 18th century with the advent of colonisation.

Voices On Colonisation

The kaimahi whānau interviewed offered their definitions of colonisation. They shared their reflections on the suffering, loss and benefits that came with

colonisation; on assimilation; how colonisation impacted on the world of our tūpuna; and how it continues to impact on our world today.

Colonisation is...the most destructive...subtle form of abuse...it's deliberate...it's intentional...there's no nice way to be colonised.

...two nations...one trying to dominate the other...the dominator is the one who pushes on the other what the world should look like...how they should think...how they should live.

...it's around power and control...it's a very conscious act to take power and control of a nation, of a culture, of a people.

...colonisation is...for Māori...living in two worlds.

...it was a planned process to subtly overcome and overtake the indigenous people.

.. it's a bit like a wind blowing...you can't really see the wind but you can see the effects it has.

One kaimahi whānau likened the process of colonisation to kutu!

...when I first came across this word I actually thought it had something to do with kutu...the introduction of kutu into a people and the effect that it has...this thing's been introduced that ain't good.

This kaimahi whānau also suggested breaking the word down and considering the word colon as a part of the human anatomy; a place from which excrement came. Colonisation was likened to the dumping of excrement onto a people.

Colonisation has impacted on our world in many ways. Kaimahi whānau spoke about the suffering imposed by colonisation on themselves, their own whānau whakapapa, and others around them.

...the one thing that sticks out like a big sore thumb is how much we as Māori people have suffered from the colonisation processes...and one of the worst areas...happens to be in the education system.

...once all these laws started coming in our glory was gone and we started suffering from that point onwards.

...they took away a lot of things that were staple things for us...like the tohunga...they took away that and replaced it with their health thing.

Kaimahi whānau spoke about the conflict that this created as legislation dictated the rules, creating a situation where our tūpuna were being told what to do but were wanting to do what they always did. This situation continues today.

...once upon a time things were done in a particular way for particular reasons and that was the tikanga...that was the kawa...the whole process of colonisation...started blurring the rules and the boundaries.

...whether we like it or not, we're living in a European society, a Pākehā society and our heritage is Māori so there's the conflict for me.

...you just have to read history books to see what laws were put in place and what force was used to meet the goals of one people...even today we don't have a choice...the culture and society is there to ensure that the dominant culture prevails.

This created further suffering for generations who had to go underground and do things in secret in order to survive.

...the biggest suffering...not so much with our generation...with generations gone by...was that quite knowingly they would have to begin to start doing things in secret.

The hurting of people in the inside is a common theme amongst the kōrero of the kaimahi whānau and linked to the feelings of loss they recognised amongst our people.

...one of the real tragedies of colonisation is the whole shame of being Māori...the whole whakamā of being Māori...that hurting of people on the inside.

...the load and the pain for me is in my old people...I get this feeling of sadness...about the struggle they must have had...sad for the way our people have been treated.

...I've come across a lot of whānau that maybe not the reo they've lost but it's something to do with Māori that they've lost...it might be a spiritual thing...there's something that's not complete in their journey.

One kaimahi whānau spoke at length about assimilation and how the degree to which individuals, whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi assimilated to the dominant culture determined the impact of colonisation.

...different whānau within hapū...different hapū...different iwi...experienced colonisation differently...depending where they sat...within their hapū...within their whānau...their experience would have been different.

...when you have an alien culture coming into dominate another culture...the threat is around it being an experience that the original culture aren't prepared for...unable to assimilate at least straight away...it's taken generations for the benefits of colonisation to become apparent...the more assimilated our people have become. It's about post colonisation development...we're just at a place of post colonisation development now...where we are able to be in numbers showing some of the benefits as we understand them to be from a western perspective...from the dominant culture perspective...but also from our own...well also from a Māori view as an assimilated culture...I'm not sure that Māori...te ao Māori really has

benefited from colonisation...we're saying we benefit but on whose terms did we benefit...as an assimilated culture.

This kaimahi whānau defined assimilation as

something that's a bit like osmosis...over time cultural norms from the dominant culture become the norm...the things that three or four generations ago weren't as comfortable...you assimilate... become more comfortable. Assimilation as in some sort of social normalisation of ways of being and then integrating another culture basically into our worldview.

This kaimahi whānau felt that how well whānau whakapapa had assimilated determined how well they were in te ao hurihuri.

...there's a lot of whānau that we see...and their children have a kind of poverty in their wairua...they haven't been able to assimilate and it's been with them for generations.

...you actually see a whole thread where they've never coped with the experience...they haven't been able to get upon it...they're as poor now as they were then...not just economically but their wairua...their socialisation...not being able to take in the education system...their way of life is problematic. I see all that as a direct result of colonisation...but definitely in pockets...originally different hapū and maybe different iwi...whānau...experienced a different experience of colonisation. Certainly some hapū...some iwi did fairly okay...they were able to assimilate and carry on and are still very successful today.

Other kaimahi whānau spoke about the effects of colonisation that continue today. What started many generations ago when non-Māori first encountered Māori in Aotearoa, continues around us today in many structures and many places.

...our people are still bonded in to colonisation...in to the oppression.

...our people are still suffering from the colonisation process...they have lost their identity...they have lost their mana.

...we're still coming second...we're still fighting to get some of the Treaty things heard...all those years and we're still fighting...we've been heard a little bit but not how it should be.

...I wonder whether given the opportunity way back those hundreds of years ago we were treated equally we might actually be an equal partner...it seems that forever we're the bridesmaids and not the bride...we're never quite at the top.

The dramatic impact of colonisation and the pervasive affect on generations of Māori, led to the prediction by one kaimahi whānau that as well as our tūpuna and the people of today experiencing colonisation, future generations will also be exposed to it.

One of the areas of most significant suffering and loss as a result of colonisation was identified as being the whānau whakapapa structure and roles within the whānau whakapapa. Strongly linked with this, the loss of identity amongst our people.

...we lose that balance in a lot of our whānau...that's one area that's been very destructive with colonisation...in terms of those roles.

...the place of our kaumātua in our whānau...that's missing in a lot of our families...and the wisdom...and knowledge...and the advice is often ignored because we've taken on Western views...our whānau are quite fractured now.

...you wonder how much our young people take into account when they listen to our old people or if they do listen to our old people today...and

how they value that older person's knowledge...or if they value an older person at all.

...that's the worst thing...that whole separation of whanaungatanga.

...it's around roles we've taken on...wāhine...tāne...the kuia...our kaumātua...their roles as our puna mātauranga...we're unbalanced...a lot of it stems back to a loss of identity.

...that's one of the sufferings I see as a direct result of being colonised...now we have a huge diversity across Māori katoa...of understanding what it is to be Māori...there's a common thread...that keeps us together but some are more and some are less and some are totally distanced from te ao Māori and they still don't want to come back...the identity thing is huge.

...it's disconnected because the generations...I don't think they've all been moulded together properly...our whānau concept has disintegrated.

...we're seeing the breakdown of Māori society...in the traditional sense...I know that whānau, hapū, iwi and wairua and all of our precepts that are important to us are held...but they're not often held widely by the Māori population...so I think that's a suffering for te ao Māori.

...there's a lot of our relations out there that for one reason or another have never sat in a marae and a lot of their children have never seen the inside of their own marae...you can walk into a marae in a school or in a Pākehā learning place and you'll never experience the same thing as you do when you walk in to your own.

Kaimahi whānau acknowledged the loss of te reo Māori and our own processes of education.

...we're all paying fees to learn te reo and mātauranga Māori...and it is our right to actually have it...they took that away from us...so they took away the basis...our tikanga.

...when I look back...I think how sad...Māori issues just put aside...not even considered...that's sad...no Māori history at school when I was going.

...our parents grew up in the era of your best learning will be in the Pākehā world...if you're going to get on in the world you were to forget about your Māori and go through the Pākehā education system.

...even in mainstream schools where they do teach history it's so biased.

...it'd be good to see a lot more Māori in Māori centred education...however the belief is that we're still second class...until our institutions are promoted by politicians...colonisation will happen all over again...our people are going to believe all that.

Some kaimahi whānau acknowledged that colonisation brought benefits to Māori. However those benefits often created negative effects as well, especially over time. For some the benefit was about coming to the realisation of what had been lost.

...there has been some goodness to it in that our kids have been able to get the benefits of two worlds.

...we know a lot more about the colony than the colony knows about us...we know a lot more about the wider world than they actually know about us...the other side to that is that we ourselves have got to a stage of knowing less about us.

...I still get excited today when a new thing comes out and you think...I'll try that. I don't realise it's a threat until sometime later when I might get an opportunity to reflect...and sadly we're coming from a position of reflection.

When we can actually see the large loss to us as a people...the grief is around what could it be...what were the possibilities.

For some it was difficult to identify any benefits or at least any that would not have been achieved had colonisation not happened in Aotearoa.

...it's come to a stage where the results are not helpful...this colonisation is a thing that makes you sick not better in lots of ways.

...as a people we have suffered more than we've benefited. I don't know what would have happened if Pākehā hadn't come. Had there been a true partnership all the way through between European and Māori then there may have been a lot more put in place...opportunities to have a bit more autonomy than we've had over the years. I don't know if we've benefited from colonisation.

...colonisation did not bring about Māori people's progress...I don't believe that our tūpuna would have stagnated. I believe that we would have carried on progressing. They brought benefits that we could have actually acquired ourselves. We already had our social aspects in place...we had tapu and noa. If they brought back those...utu and muru back in...we'd be in a really good state...but they took away our tikanga...kawa...our mātauranga...they wouldn't allow us to be ourselves...that's why we have that imbalance.

...I'm not sure what benefit they've brought the Māori world. I know I can see benefits for Māori who are post colonial in their development and I want to make that distinction.

Kaimahi whānau agreed with colonisation came an attack on whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi structures. This had a devastating impact on Māori. The loss of land and urbanisation had shifted many whānau whakapapa from their traditional support systems and so the complex issues of today were often now being dealt with inappropriately outside the whānau whakapapa, hapū and

iwi context. Kaimahi whānau recalled experiences from times when Māori were not as urbanised as they have now become. They shared stories of whānau whakapapa being enticed and often forced away from tūrangawaewae.

...separating the whānau by enticing them with...not quite blankets and bottles of booze but houses and cheap rent and a job at the freezing works.

For some, the reason was never made clear to them, as to why as children, they had to leave whenua tupuna and live in separate state housing blocks. Other kaimahi whānau remembered the community around them when they lived near the marae and had the support of whānau whakapapa close by, regretting that their children and mokopuna did not always experience that same strength of support. All kaimahi whānau agreed colonisation had had an impact on their lives.

Voices On Racism

Kaimahi whānau were not asked to define racism, however when asked to reflect on the link between colonisation and racism, their comments expressed their understanding of racism and confirmed the belief that colonisation and racism go hand in hand. Because of this link many kaimahi whānau feared future mokopuna would continue to suffer the effects of colonisation.

...the people who colonised the world believed everyone else was totally inferior to them.

...there's a clear link...there has to be to impose your culture on another...you still see it today...maybe they go hand in hand actually...maybe they are one and the same.

...you get one group of people that say...we're the okay ones and actually you're not okay...and you're so much not okay that we have to set up the rules we set up.

...the Pākehā view of Māori assimilating to their culture is that we will never be Pākehā so how could we ever be as good at what it is to be Pākehā as they are...and I think that equates with racism.

Kaimahi whānau shared stories of how racism affected them personally, how it had impacted on their view of themselves and on the decisions they had made in their lives. Many kaimahi whānau believed racism still impacted on their lives and the lives of their whānau whakapapa today.

...over in South Africa...apartheid...black people knew that white people hated them and the white people knew that the black people hated them...but in New Zealand...Māori people don't know that they're being devalued. I went through that process of not knowing. I have whānau that still don't know...what is happening to us is that we're actually being degraded...devalued...through this colonisation process.

...it's about power...they're not prepared to share power and in education they're not prepared to learn about us but we have to learn about them. To say that our pōwhiri is not of value is really degrading. As a kaikaranga...to know that I have the power to bring the living and the dead together and to believe in that is something Pākehā will never understand. To know that my tūpuna are always with me...those are the spiritual values that they said weren't any good. To say that their race is better than ours...I tell you who's the losers...they are...because our people have a lot to share...we learnt about them but they haven't learnt about us.

...when you're growing up with your nanny and your whānau...you're awesome...Māori people are awesome... everything you do is awesome...we practise tikanga...kawa...and whanaungatanga. When you go to school...you start to learn that you're second class citizens...second class kids...that you only have kutu and that you steal...that you're dirty...and you start learning all the negative roles from a very early age...and so you start disliking yourself...and you go home and you like yourself when you're round Nanny and all the whānau...and then you go

back to this Pākehā environment but you don't like yourself so much cause you're second...and then as I got older...I thought...I'm going to marry a Pākehā cause they're better than us.

...if you put someone down enough they're going to believe that they're second class...second rate.

...we're fighters but we're a small minority in a big majority who will, as long as they're the majority, keep us at a level that is okay in their eyes...while at the same time pretending that they're doing quite good with the indigenous people of this country.

Other kaimahi whānau found examples of racism in their work.

...in the social services there is quite a lot of Pākehā gatekeeping and mistrust of Māori as being Māori...not trusting that Māori could be effective in facilitating any sort of effective intervention for our own people. Gatekeeping is economic...because these are jobs. I sense racism...I experience it as I see it with clients and our people...and I experience it for myself as a Māori professional...you don't have to scratch the surface too much to see it...very thinly veiled...the whole racism thing in caring professions.

...it's still there...it's the way they practise...their tokenism. Pūao-te-ata-tū in 1986...institutional racism was rife...still is in twenty years...racism is still there.

...when I'm working as a social worker and I have a session with a whānau...our koro and kuia sit down...I'm howling inside...humbled by their presence...what they have gone through. A lot of our old people have no understanding of the system and they're crying... especially nanny...not just for her moko...for Māoridom...she's howling for all the mokos and not just hers.

Although one kaimahi whānau discussed interaction with individual Pākehā who had acknowledged, supported and encouraged the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of our tūpuna, many kaimahi whānau had experienced, and continued to experience, racism in their own lives and amongst the agencies and colleagues with whom they worked. Many of their stories, too numerous to share here, reflected sadness and anger, but also celebrated the courage and defiance of many of our tūpuna, who refused to accept the messages of racism.

Voices On Social Work Today

For some kaimahi whānau, it was difficult for them to accept the description of their mahi as social work. They saw social work as a colonised construct and would not acknowledge any connection to it, preferring to be viewed as kaimahi working towards the awakening of mana Māori, and the return of our people to the tikanga and kawa of our tūpuna.

...I never called myself a social worker...I always called myself a kaimahi. If you're classified as a social worker...that's it...it's already got it's boundaries and it's meaning.

Other kaimahi whānau acknowledged that the social work environment as constructed by the dominant non-Māori culture, was the reality in which they worked today. However they felt they practised in this environment in a different way to non-Māori.

Although one kaimahi whānau worked in a social work agency but practised in a more specialised field, all kaimahi whānau interviewed agreed that their mahi was about supporting individuals, whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi towards wellbeing. The importance of interconnectedness in te ao Māori and the role of the whānau whakapapa in supporting spiritual, physical, social and psychological wellbeing, gives strength to the description of social work for Māori in te ao hurihuri as whānau whakapapa development. This description will be supported in allowing the voices of the kaimahi whānau interviewed to speak together on their practice and what they see happening in the social work arena today.

Working Within The System

Kaimahi whānau acknowledged that many of the places where they had, or did work, were part of a social work system created and/ or funded by the coloniser. They acknowledged the limitations of this system and its influence on their mahi.

...what is a Māori social worker? Aren't we all colonised social workers in the end because we work by a system...we're bound if you're a statutory worker by the rules and regulations of that system...if you're a community social worker you're bound by your organisation's structures.

...do we work in a colonised social work system or not? We most probably do...because it's all run by the people that colonised us.

...we end up being brown skins using a colonised tool to heal our people...our Māori models of practice and our tikanga aren't accepted out there...they can't even understand the simple process of going down to the tangi and going in the back and washing dishes...and how much that creates for kaimahi working within an area.

...it's funny in our practices...you got to go out and learn all these Pākehā tools...but when you go and do your mahi...it all goes out the window...you still do it our way. They're saying when are you going to become a social worker and get registered...we're getting further away from the needs of our people...we're buying in to that accountability system of theirs...somewhere we should be making a stand and say no...let's go back this way.

While kaimahi whānau were skilled at adapting to the pressures and expectations of managers and agencies with rules and regulations, they were also skilled at working in two worlds. They had the tools to work in both worlds, however, the pressures to do so were evident.

Our Practice

Kaimahi whānau responded to this pressure by understanding clearly their motivation to practise in the way they practised. Kaimahi whānau believed that what made them different from their non-Māori colleagues, was the responsibilities and obligations they had in this system and to whom they were accountable.

...while our mahi is under contracts and is paid for by Pākehā...in the end we're answerable to our kaumātua...our own.

...always ask yourself...is this good for my hapū...is it helping our whānau...hapū.

...when you're a kaimahi and you meet with a whānau or with an individual...you're actually taking your tūpuna to meet their tūpuna. You've got accountability not only to the person in front of you but to their tūpuna and to yours.

One kaimahi whānau commented on the need for kaimahi whānau to be in a place where this accountability to our people is real.

...a lot of Māori haven't got that...they've worked in other iwi...in other areas...in cities...well away from their own iwi...hapū...therefore that accountability is not there. Some haven't been brought up amongst their own and it does make a difference. Any community worker wouldn't have the authority if you haven't got that investment. You may really want to make a difference with families and children but if you haven't got that investment in that community...

Kaimahi whānau also spoke about the need for kaimahi whānau to have an understanding of colonisation and how it impacts on our people.

...they don't realise that in not having an awareness of the effects of colonisation on our people...they actually become part of the problem...they can't facilitate proper healing for our people.

Kaimahi whānau commented on the attitudes and understandings that influence their mahi, and the different skills and experience they call upon to work with whānau whakapapa.

I couldn't say it was Māori social work practice because I was a state owned Māori...I had guidelines I had to stick with...but it still made a difference. It was different to how the Pākehā would practise as a social worker because I have an understanding of what it is to be Māori and colonised...and I know racism is still alive and well. I have a better understanding of our dynamics within our communities...within our own hapū...and our own whānau.

We work hand in hand with whānau...mainstream are trying to capture it...they tried to capture it with Pūao-te-ata-tū and Family Group Conference and that's all whānau based. I don't think they captured it because I don't think they've got that essence that we've got and that's unique to us as Māori.

...some of the people have got the paper...but they haven't got the skills to go with the paper...[where I work] I'd say that's the majority of non-Māori. Being Māori...I look at things more on a whānau basis...they don't have that concept...non-Māori [are] more clinical...they look at the book...there's no feeling to it...we tend to deal with the behaviours as a whole.

Kaimahi whānau reflected on how this skill and experience was being sought by non-Māori agencies as a means of enhancing their service delivery.

...there's a lot of iwi organisations out there that community and government agency groups are tripping over to be partners with...maybe not just to help the whānau...there's a lot of pūtea involved. I always

wondered what reasons some agencies come in and want to walk on these journeys because I believe most things Māori for Māori.

...someone from an organisation comes in and says we need this Māori component to our service because we need to work with Māori more closely. When you get the guts of it...all it was...was that the contract says that you need to have a Māori component...because of the Treaty of Waitangi...and you get \$20,000 for doing it...

...they sit there and give me all this spurt about we need better relationships with Māori and I'm sitting there and I know exactly what they're up to...they think I'm dumb...that hurts more than anything else. To sit there and listen to it all and to know that what they're saying is not what it is all about. If they had come up and punched me in the face it might have felt better because they just rip your heart apart.

The challenges of being accountable both to an agency and to one's kaumātua were highlighted. Pressure to seek qualifications and registration, and to provide support to non-Māori agencies created tension but because these kaimahi whānau were experienced, multi-skilled and able to work in both worlds, they were in demand.

The Effects Of Colonisation In Our Mahi

Kaimahi whānau reflected on how colonisation shaped the issues they were working with amongst whānau whakapapa, and also influenced the way they supported whānau whakapapa.

...with tapu and noa the rules and the boundaries around that for some are very blurred...so they behave with that blurriness. They aren't really clear around what is the kawa...your behaviour says that the kawa in your whare is it's okay to hit women...and the kawa says that not only can you do that but you can do it in front of your children. If you can do it in front of your children...you can do it to your children. We come across

certain families and the boundaries have really been blurred and they don't really know how to maintain certain disciplines anymore.

...I think about that whakatauki...about it takes a village to raise a child...iwi are dispersed and gone off...hapū are off over here...and whānau...the whole role of being a social worker...particularly a Māori social worker...you end up being a particular family matua...you end up being the koroua and the kuia...you end up being the whānau itself...you end up being the hapū itself...and you also end up being the iwi to these whānau. You end up having all these roles...you're advocating on their behalf...you're trying to be a kaitiaki for them as well...you're manaakiing them as well...you're just doing all these roles...it's enormous...

...there are still that percentage there that are stuck in [the] low socio-economic situation...they are still suffering from the same things that they were suffering in the days of Pūao-te-ata-tū and I guess ever since colonisation came...we're just in survival mode with a lot of the families we're working with...those families are just surviving...they're on the bread line...ten dollars means the whole world to them...they're not a majority like they were when I was that age.

There are high expectations of kaimahi whānau in many communities. Where whānau are under stress, they frequently rely heavily on the support of kaimahi whānau as kaitiaki, as advocates, and as sources of funding and resources to alleviate poverty.

What Works For Māori

Kaimahi whānau reflected on what is working for our people or what might work better. They suggested processes to deal with the negative impacts on our lives, our wairua and our kawa.

...I'd like to work with them to bring them back to Māoritanga...then they know who they are. When you learn about your Māoritanga...you learn about whanaungatanga.

...what is going to help Māori is Māori values...Māori practices...it's the whānau coming together...whakawhanaungatanga.

...families having hui just for the sake of [it] bring out the best in the young ones.

...if you really need to and you really want to nurture your own life you will nurture your environment...if you don't nurture the environment then you won't be able to nurture yourself and your own whānau.

...with learning the reo comes that basic understanding of structures...that has got to be good for the wellbeing of our whānau...cause it usually comes back to their identity.

...if we're really serious about empowering our people with their mana...a whole lot of us have to be committed to the work...we have to be prepared to step out there and challenge some of the status quo. I always say if you're Māori...if you say you're Māori...you have to be political...you've got to be committed as well. We should also be awahiing others to come to the same space. It's really about finding all the different ways that'll encourage your whānau to take back their mana...to reignite their mana...all the whānau...even your own direct whānau...strengthening them.

...I did it by whakawātea...you can do whakawātea in all sorts of ways...it's not only whakawātea...cleaning...clearing the pathway for them...but it's really about allowing them to take back their mana...allowing them to be excited about who they are...and value who they are...

We need to be creative...if you think you're going to heal a person sitting in a room...we need to realise that we don't have to do it all because if we go into the ngahere...we go out to Tangaroa...the tūpuna and the atua come and help you...we have to use the resources around us...

We need to take back our way of healing our people...getting back to mirimiri...the wairua thing. At the end of the day a lot of our unwellness is about wairua...if we were to bring back our wairua concepts...

Reclaiming the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of our tūpuna was seen as the means of restoring mana to our people. Kaimahi whānau emphasised the need to nurture the environment and to utilise the unseen resources available to us to heal our people. They believed the imbalance in our taha wairua created unwellness.

One kaimahi whānau in acknowledging the breakdown of the whānau whakapapa and the loss of role models for young mothers, advocated the strengthening of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi as the only way to provide support for those mothers and other whānau whakapapa members.

...all the welfare in the world can't support that...it's about getting back to whānau, hapū and iwi and strengthening that area.

Another kaimahi whānau acknowledged the need to utilise the values and beliefs of our tūpuna to support the creation and maintenance of healthy lifestyles. Utilising the concept of tapu and noa, and developing tikanga and kawa within whānau whakapapa, was seen as the way to restore healthy lifestyles and reclaim boundaries around relationships and behaviour.

Mason [Durie] talked about establishing a kawa for a whānau...he spoke about the health kawa for whānau and to look at what is the kawa with regard to caring for each other within the whare...what is the kawa for empowering whānau members...what is the kawa for planning ahead...what is the kawa for transmission of culture...what is the kawa of consensus and agreement...

The need to develop our own kawa around the use of products introduced to our lifestyles with colonisation, particularly alcohol, was considered important. There was a belief that we were slowly developing kawa around its use.

In reflecting on their own lives, the lives of their own whānau whakapapa and the lives of the whānau whakapapa they worked amongst, kaimahi whānau acknowledged that colonisation continued to impact on their mahi, not only in terms of the issues whānau whakapapa faced, but also the way they supported those whānau whakapapa. All kaimahi whānau agreed that the source of wellbeing for those whānau whakapapa lay within the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna. Most believed that reconnecting with that source of wellbeing would enhance whānau whakapapa wellbeing and contribute to positive whānau whakapapa development.

One kaimahi whānau proposed that as well as reconnecting to that source, wellbeing was also dependent on how well individuals, whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi could integrate the experience of colonisation into their lives in te ao hurihuri. Kaimahi whānau were asked to consider decolonisation, and more specifically a facilitated process of decolonisation, as a means of reconnecting with that source of wellbeing and integrating their experience of colonisation into te ao hurihuri. They were first asked what decolonisation meant for them, and then how it was, or could be used, in their mahi.

Voices On Decolonisation

Decolonisation is a complex concept, with varied meanings discussed in previous chapters. Some kaimahi whānau had considered this concept before, others had not.

...to me there's no such thing as decolonisation...once you've been colonised...you've been colonised. What I do believe in is the effects of colonisation and post colonial development as opposed to decolonisation...it's not a word that I would use. Somewhere there's a resonance of that experience through your generations and through your people so you can't ever be 100% decolonised...you can't not have had that experience...it's on our wairua...it's in our psyche...for generations to come.

I don't think we can undo history...we can unravel the effects of it...and facilitate the healing of those effects. We can benefit from the knowledge of having had that experience in our post colonial development.

...I don't know if we can be decolonised...it's about regaining power and control.

...decolonisation is around not only getting the kutu out but re-establishing tikanga and kawa...who we are...what we are...and how we want to be.

One kaimahi whānau preferred to use the word whakawātea.

...whakawātea is about clearing the way of all that hara so that they can take on mātauranga from our tūpuna...from our atua and build on it...to value it...to own it...to reignite it...to reclaim it...it's a special thing that we have to get back to our people...it's their right...to accept where we are today but to actually know there is a way forward...and education is really, really important for our whānau...people are on different parts of their journey so they probably need to jump on at different parts...decolonisation has to be about clearing a path for our people...once that path's cleared...give them the mātauranga...that will help them progress forward. I don't only mean Māori mātauranga...cause we're in the 21st century...we have to have all of it.

Other kaimahi whānau found it difficult to view a facilitated process of decolonisation as possible, or even appropriate for this time.

...I wonder if you could be decolonised from something you're so entrenched in.

...we're actually living in a different world...it's not our world...it's not our time. Those that are struggling...they've struggled all their lives...to get them out of it...it's almost like there's got to be another generation or two...the timing's not right...whānau aren't ready.

Others, having experienced a decolonisation process themselves, found difficulties putting it into practice when working amongst whānau whakapapa.

...it's not always as black and white as go to a decol hui...because then I have to put it into practice and usually the recipient isn't a willing host.

...we go in to homes...we go into whānau...hapū...and we have all this information that we've sourced from Takiwai Murphy, Mereana Pitman, Te Korowai Aroha, our nannies, our mummies, our daddies...these experiences that have shaped us and made us into the people that we are today...and we go in knowing that's where we've got to pitch it at this whānau...but when you've got a whānau that's either needing kai in the cupboard...the power's going to be turned off...the rent's not paid...it comes back to that vital need to survive...they don't want to hear about the effects of colonisation and did you know your grandparents were born in to an era which was weighted in legislation...even though you've got that just brimming to come out...all they want to know is are you able to get me a food parcel today...and that's the dilemma...first of course you start with the need...food, clothing, shelter, warmth, love...and sometimes you're still in that for a year...let alone the time that's going to be had to revive that whānau...ideally yes all our families...all my siblings...should have the privilege of going through Te Korowai Aroha...all of them should have access to it...all of our kids...all of our rangatahi should have access to Te Korowai Aroha...but again there's some processes that we are just not able to overcome.

...kids come home all the time with kutu again...yes we're going to go away and be decolonised or de kutued...but you know it just continually gets in to our children...you send them off to school...turn the tv on...listen to the radio...continually being influenced.

Some responses to the idea of decolonisation were around compromise.

...there's always areas of compromise...I actually align colonisation closely to compromise.

...I think that compromise comes about because kawa hasn't been established and that we're actually using someone else's kawa which says compromise.

Some kaimahi whānau felt that the mahi that was happening in the area of education would bear fruits for our people in future generations, and that there was no need for any facilitated process of decolonisation to take place. They believed those participating in kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, wharekura and whare wānanga would ensure that the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of our tūpuna were not only retained for future generations but reclaimed, preserved and continued by other members of their whānau whakapapa.

Others felt there was a place for a facilitated process of decolonisation.

...we can do formal education...but the best education is at home...on the marae. Some people aren't connected so closely with their marae...but you can do it in your whānau...you've got to start with yourself first because if you're going to go out there and say...practise what I preach...rather than practise what I do.

...there doesn't seem much else happening around that can fast track our awareness. If you're not going home to your marae what else is going to fast track awareness. They actually fast track your appreciation of who we are...how we should be...and then it's only a stepping stone...to where you're going to go...opening your mind to mātauranga.

...it gives answers to why we do what we do...people don't know why we are in a low socio-economic group...they're still stuck with their blinkers on...fast track awareness wakes you up and says you've got all of these messages in your head...change the tapes...I really like that exercise...changing the tapes.

Other kaimahi whānau while not having thought about a facilitated process of decolonisation before, saw it as a potential catalyst for promoting positive whānau whakapapa development.

...in my work...timelines and historical overviews are really important...to have an understanding of the history of people in order to get a true, clearer perspective on how you may go about assisting or facilitating healing.

...anything that's going to make sense of an experience for a person so that they can then integrate that experience in a way that is non-disruptive can be used. Rather than say an experience of decolonisation...more calling it healing.

Other kaimahi whānau offered reflections that indicated to the researcher some potential for a facilitated process of decolonisation or whakawātea.

...to have old people say they don't understand their moko and I say to them does your moko understand you...Nanny is going I don't know about these people these days and you have to say to her...do they know about your days and what you did when you were their age.

...our families have a sense that something ain't right...just haven't recognised what it is...part of our work with our whānau is about waking them up...once you wake them up...there's an opportunity for them to participate in their own lives and how their lives will be.

Another kaimahi whānau responded to this comment.

...until day to day survival's taken care of...they can't have awakening.

Another kaimahi whānau warned that if facilitated processes of decolonisation were to take place, everyone would need to participate in them regularly, and

constantly reflect on how they were actively promoting the messages in their own lives.

...it's not just cool I'm decolonised...we've got to work at it...we've continually got to do it...it's easy to get sucked in...and go backwards.

Different perspectives on decolonisation; what it means, whether it is possible and how it has and could be used have been shared by kaimahi whānau. While not all kaimahi whānau articulated strong support for the use of a facilitated process of decolonisation amongst whānau whakapapa, several kaimahi whānau expressed interest in the potential use of this process in healing the effects of colonisation. In providing understanding and awakening the mana of whānau whakapapa, there is the possibility that more positive wellbeing could be attained. For other whānau whakapapa, immediate needs of food, warmth and shelter would need to be met first, before an invitation to participate in such a process, would be appropriately offered or welcomed. These issues will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Voices On Our Future

Over the time spent with kaimahi whānau, many positive words were shared about the future of our people. It could be argued that those words more than any others, need to be heard.

Due to a Māori response to say that we aren't second class citizens...and we'll tell ourselves so and we'll tell our children so and get them to tell their children...being Māori amongst Māori now is starting to be pretty cool.

It doesn't matter what journeys we've all been on...we've come from the same place...it's so exciting for us...because of our wairua...our āhua...who we are...Māori people are chosen people...our future's really bright for our mokopuna...our wairua's so different...we're a really special people.

...we're reclaiming whakapapa...we're preserving whakapapa and that might be whakapapa to events not necessarily just whakapapa of one

another as whānau...hapū...we're in that renaissance...being able to reclaim...preserve...continue...reclaim ...preserve...continue.

Many kaimahi whānau believed we are going through a period of strengthening at this time, securing our cultural identity and turning around the negative messages that disempowered our people in the past.

It's about who we are and who we always were but needed to have that all instilled back into our minds.

It's the time to start seeing the leadership coming back up in Māori...that's the part of our development...the Māori psyche...the consciousness... where we're up to.

I think we've got a large number of middle class now...as defined in Pākehā terms...in terms of the economy and with that type of success now we're quite powerful again...self determination is much easier for us...this is where I would see te ao Māori would benefit now.

That kaimahi whānau remain so positive about the future in the face of the continuing attack of colonisation, is testament to the strength of our people and faith in the support and guidance of our tūpuna and atua in the years to come.

Conclusion

The kaimahi whānau interviewed in this study acknowledged that Māori have suffered from the effects of colonisation and racism in Aotearoa and that many continue to do so. While acknowledging that initially our tūpuna welcomed new technology, new knowledge and new relationships with others who visited our shores, they believed that the imposition of new traditions, values, skills and beliefs through legislation and conflict, affected our social structures and lifestyles.

Kaimahi whānau highlighted the effects of colonisation on relationships within our whānau whakapapa. They believed racism continued to affect our lives,

impacting on our wairua and contributing to a loss of mana and identity amongst many of our people. They believed knowledge and respect for the maintenance and creation of new tikanga and kawa had weakened, to the extent that they no longer provided boundaries around the use of resources, behaviour and relationships amongst many of our whānau whakapapa. The loss of land, loss of reo and the loss of mātauranga Māori also contributed to a hurting of our people in the inside. This influenced the issues kaimahi whānau faced in their mahi and the way they approached their work.

Along with this acknowledgment of suffering and loss, kaimahi whānau also celebrated the strength of our tūpuna to maintain the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna and to ensure that they were passed on to future generations of mokopuna. Recent developments in education were opportunities for many of our whānau whakapapa to reclaim, preserve and continue those traditions, values, skills and beliefs. Those whānau whakapapa remained strongly connected to the world of their tūpuna, and on their journey, influenced others to strengthen their connections.

While kaimahi whānau offered various perspectives on the concept and possibilities of decolonisation, and the usefulness or appropriateness of a facilitated process of decolonisation, they were adamant that the future was bright for our people. They had faith that our whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi would continue to reclaim their mana and continue to live the dreams of our tūpuna. A facilitated process of decolonisation was offered as a possible pathway to reclaim this mana. The following chapter will link the voices of the kaimahi whānau, presented here, with the voices of others, and discuss further the implications of colonisation and racism, the concept of social work and the potential use of a facilitated process of decolonisation in the reclaiming of mana and in the reasserting of rangatiratanga.

Chapter Five

WEAVING OUR VOICES WITH OTHER VOICES

We are a resilient people, a proud people...We can assert and restore to ourselves our rangatiratanga (Selby, 2005b, p.109).

Introduction

This statement by Tariana Turia, co-leader of the Māori Party, celebrates strength, and promotes faith, in the ability of Māori to move themselves towards rangatiratanga. She challenges the view that Māori must depend on the state for development and advocates a dependence on ourselves. This faith and belief that Māori can restore their own rangatiratanga is supported by kaimahi whānau in this study. However, this study argues that because of the effects of colonisation, or the Matrix, it is important that the voices of Māori who have retained or reclaimed connection to their tūpuna, be heard by those still trapped inside the Matrix. The struggle to be heard by the coloniser, has become less important today, than the struggle to be heard by those members of whānau whakapapa who are disconnected from the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna.

This chapter weaves together the voices of the Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga kaimahi whānau who shared kōrero for this research, with local and international writers who have also explored the themes of social work, colonisation and decolonisation. Using the Matrix analogy as outlined in previous chapters, an analysis of the themes identified in the voices of the kaimahi whānau will be made, acknowledging the whare tapa whā framework and the concept of rangatiratanga. In choosing to use the whare tapa whā framework articulated by Durie (1994a), I will highlight the need to restore this view of wellbeing and to utilise its strength in te ao hurihuri. Rangatiratanga is defined as the right to be and live as Māori through Mana Atua, Mana Tupuna and Mana Whenua (Vercoe, 1998; Marsden, 2003; Māori Party, 2006).

This analysis will consider pathways to allow the voices of those who have retained rangatiratanga despite colonisation, to be heard by other Māori:

pathways that will allow more whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi to assert and restore their own rangatiratanga. A facilitated process of decolonisation is offered as one of those pathways. This chapter will provide an analysis of the support for such a pathway, considering the suffering and loss Māori endure as a result of colonisation, and the strength and faith they retain to restore rangatiratanga. This chapter also acknowledges the colonisation experiences of other indigenous peoples in other parts of the world, and so celebrates the strength and tenacity of our tūpuna, and the ancestors of other indigenous peoples, in ensuring the survival of their traditions, values, skills and beliefs.

Te Ao Māori Before The Matrix: Rangatiratanga Intact

Kaimahi whānau in this study have spoken at length about the role of whānau whakapapa members in supporting the positive wellbeing of other whānau whakapapa members in pre-colonised Aotearoa. The roles of wāhine, kaumātua, rangatira and tohunga were pivotal in rebalancing, and maintaining balance, in relationships amongst whānau whakapapa members.

Kaimahi whānau acknowledged that core issues around relationships, parenting and illness existed before colonisation, however the contexts in which they developed and were resolved would have been different. Support was provided in the context of the whānau whakapapa and the Māori worldview of health and wellbeing, which embraced holistically the balance between taha wairua, taha tinana, taha whānau, and taha hinengaro (Durie, 1994a). Often wairua issues were the source of imbalance and required healing with the specialised knowledge of tohunga and matakite. Kaimahi whānau believed relationships with whenua, with maunga, with awa and with all elements of the living and spiritual world, were strong and real and therefore contributed to positive wellbeing (Durie, 2003).

Tikanga and kawa determined and guided behaviour and relationships between whānau whakapapa members. Tapu and noa, utu and muru provided means by which imbalance could be restored (R. J. Walker, 1990). Kaimahi whānau believed that roles were clearly defined and acknowledged, and that tikanga and kawa were respected and maintained (Jonson, Su'a & Crichton-Hill, 1997;

Mikaere, 1999). Collective responsibility and obligation ensured whānau whakapapa members were supported at all times to fulfil the roles expected of them (Terry, 1995; Joseph, 1997; Selby, 2005b). Relationships between whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi built on whakapapa, and past, present and future commitments to each other, reinforced the obligations to honour those relationships.

Kaimahi whānau agreed leadership was given and acknowledged because of intricate relationships between roles, whakapapa and skills (Mikaere, 1999; Davis, 2002; Diamond, 2003). Leadership was retained because of integrity, demonstrated commitment to the wellbeing and protection of all, and the ability to bring people together by acknowledging, valuing and utilising whānau whakapapa strengths (Vercoe, 1998; Mead, 1999; Diamond, 2003).

Kaimahi whānau acknowledged the complementary roles of tāne and wāhine in the nurturing of tamariki, the transmission of skills and knowledge, and the achievement of whānau whakapapa goals. Kuia and koroua were honoured as the puna mātauranga of the whānau whakapapa and hapū, and along with rangatira and tohunga, expected to make decisions in the best interests of the whānau whakapapa and future generations to come. Their direction and guidance ensured the maintenance and continuation of the values of tika, pono and aroha. Supporting the kōrero of Makareti (1986), kaimahi whānau reflected on the acknowledgement of whānau whakapapa strengths and talents and the nurturing of these in the tamariki and mokopuna of the whānau whakapapa.

Te Ao Māori And Social Work

Kaimahi whānau were asked to reflect on the place of social work in te ao Māori before the Matrix. Because the Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers (1993), Shaw (1994), Harrop (2003) and Hibbs (2005a) claimed that social work as we know it today, originated in the non-Māori theories of psychology, sociology and human development, it was important to examine whether social work had a place in the lives of our tūpuna. Whether whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi in Aotearoa, and other indigenous peoples throughout the world, would have practised social work or indeed have wanted or needed

social work prior to colonisation, was questioned by kaimahi whānau in this study, and in the literature.

The definition of social work provided by the International Federation of Social Workers (2000) highlights three important principles of social work. “[It] promotes social change, problem solving in human relationships and the empowerment and liberation of people to enhance wellbeing”(p.2). When considering life for Māori prior to colonisation, the principles of social work can be seen to be fundamental to the structure of the whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. Social change took place in the context of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi decision making processes and in response to many influences, most importantly those of the spiritual realm.

Problem solving in human relationships took place in the context of the whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. Tikanga, kawa and the concepts of tapu and noa, utu and muru played their role in the maintenance of balance in all relationships (R. J. Walker, 1990). Central to the maintenance of this balance was the restoration and acknowledgement of mana. As one kaimahi whānau stated even the mōkai played a role in the social structure, and as a part of the collective, participated in maintaining balance in human relationships.

Empowerment and liberation of people to enhance wellbeing also took place within the context of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi and was encouraged by the involvement of all in the achievement of collective goals. Complementary roles within the whānau whakapapa structure were acknowledged, respected and trusted. The strengths, skills and talents of individuals and whānau whakapapa were valued and utilised to ensure survival and support kaitiakitanga for future generations.

Another definition by Beddoe and Randal (1994) describes social work as having “a dual purpose-enabling and empowering individuals to solve their problems and engaging in action to change the structures that create and perpetuate injustice” (p.31).

For Māori, in pre-colonised Aotearoa, the social support structure of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, and the leadership provided by rangatira, tohunga and kaumātua collectively enabled and empowered individuals to solve their problems within the context of the collective. The collective of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi also engaged in action to change the structures that created and perpetuated injustice by calling upon the support and guidance of tūpuna and atua around them. Before colonisation te ao Māori reflected the enabling and empowering attributes now used to define social work. The need to have social workers did not exist.

Entering The Matrix: Threats To Rangatiratanga

Kaimahi whānau acknowledged that it was in to this context that the coloniser came. While initially many tūpuna welcomed non-Māori to Aotearoa, some soon became suspicious of their motives and questioned whether the new traditions, values, skills and beliefs introduced by non-Māori were beneficial to whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. Many tūpuna resisted the imposition of those traditions, values, skills and beliefs. As conflict and legislation enabled non-Māori to have more control over the resources and social structure of the land, many came to view themselves as having been put into a position that was not good. Those views were discussed amongst whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, and many efforts made to retain rangatiratanga (R. J. Walker, 1990).

Other colonised indigenous peoples also resisted the imposition of new traditions, values, skills and beliefs in their lands and discussed the impacts of colonisation amongst themselves. One of the earliest written works focused on colonisation, translated into English and considered in this research, was the work of Memmi (1965). Memmi examined the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised, the inevitabilities of this relationship and how this relationship needed to be broken to enable the colonised to be free. This is a constant theme in the literature both internationally and locally; the desire to be authentic and to be free of the “iron collar” of colonisation. (Memmi, 1965, p.152)

The iron collar in the Aotearoa context, came in various forms and began in 1642 when Abel Tasman first encountered Māori. The willingness of the coloniser to accept difference and understand the worldview of another people, was not evident in that first encounter nor in the initial encounter with Cook in 1769. However a relationship developed between Māori and non-Māori. Although the relationship was often fraught, it was based on the perceived mutual benefit of attaining resources and knowledge from each other (R. J. Walker, 1990; King, 2003). Initially the attainment of new resources and knowledge took place within the context of the Māori social and leadership structure. As the numbers of non-Māori increased, Māori began to lose control over how resources and knowledge would be shared. The colonisation process began.

Colonisation brought change. While the numbers of non-Māori remained small in comparison to Māori, Māori could choose what changes they wanted to make in their lives, create new relationships with non-Māori on their terms and contextualise these changes and relationships within the tikanga and kawa provided by their tūpuna. As the numbers of non-Māori increased, and the number of Māori decreased due to conflict, illness and disease, dynamics began to change in Aotearoa. Legislation was possible that allowed non-Māori power and control over resources, and removed choice for many Māori. The foundations of Māori society were legislated against over several decades. Tikanga, kawa, spiritual beliefs, whenua tupuna and whakapapa came under threat, and as kaimahi whānau in this study confirmed, while they were not necessarily lost to all, they were forced to continue in secret by those who could withstand the threats of colonisation to forsake them. It is within this context that suffering began. Spiritually, physically, socially, and psychologically many Māori suffered and still suffer today.

In the kaimahi whānau definitions of colonisation, and in their reflections on the effects of colonisation, the theme of suffering is strong and there is support for the view of M. Jackson (2004).

In Aotearoa today there is a grudging acknowledgement of the “facts” of colonisation, but little recognition of their consequences, the myths which underpinned them, or the richness of Māori thought that they endeavoured to eliminate (p. 98).

The definitions of colonisation shared by the kaimahi whānau are imbued with the suffering and loss that the process created. The use of the words violence, abuse, aggressive, deviant, demise and destructive indicate the harshness of the colonisation experience for our tūpuna. Our tūpuna believed wellbeing was achieved and maintained by seeking balance of taha wairua (the spiritual dimension), taha tinana (the physical dimension), taha whānau (the social dimension) and taha hinengaro (the mental and emotional dimension), as articulated by Durie (1994a) in the whare tapa whā (four walled house) framework. The impact of colonisation on each of these four walls is evident in the kōrero of the kaimahi whānau and in the literature, and will be explored further in the following section.

The Impact On Taha Wairua

Kaimahi whānau have acknowledged that the relationship of our tūpuna with the land was one of the first relationships amongst the whānau whakapapa that came under threat. Duran and Duran (1995) and Weaver (2001) explored the affect of this loss of relationship with the land and argued that this was catastrophic for indigenous peoples in terms of spiritual wellbeing. Durie (1994a) and Marsden (2003) also examined this relationship for Māori, and the obligations that came with it. The severance of relationship with Mana Whenua has for many Māori, disconnected them from the wairua of the land, impacting on their spiritual wellbeing.

The relationship of our tūpuna with Mana Atua also came under threat as the role of tohunga were suppressed (Tohunga Suppression Act, 1907) and spiritual beliefs undermined. The undermining of tapu and noa, and those tikanga that provided boundaries and guidelines for relationships and behaviour, contributed to the suffering and anguish. A suffering of spirit resulted. Memmi (1965) reflected on this and argued that colonisation not only

materially, but also spiritually, killed the colonised. This is a theme that is highlighted in literature as well as the voices of the kaimahi whānau in this research.

Duran and Duran (1995) identified a “soul wound” (p.195). Kaimahi whānau referred to the hurting inside, the shame of being Māori, the spiritual thing some whānau whakapapa had lost, and the poverty in their wairua. Lashlie (2002) makes reference to Jim Moriarty’s view of the spirit being “hurt” (p. 73). This loss of relationship with Mana Atua had a significant impact on the relationship whānau whakapapa maintained with the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna. The relationship of whānau whakapapa with Mana Tupuna was undermined as non-Māori imposed their own ancestors’ traditions, values, skills and beliefs on Māori and promoted them as better.

The Impact On Taha Tinana

With the coloniser came new technologies, new foodstuffs, new knowledge and new views of the world (Durie, 2003). For a short time Māori were able to choose what they wanted to include in their lives. After that, much of what was new, was forced upon them. The large numbers of non-Māori brought with them disease and sickness (Kunitz, 1994), alcohol and drugs, new tools of warfare and economic systems (R. J. Walker, 1990) that were not advantageous to Māori. As one kaimahi whānau noted the negative impact of colonisation was often greatest when people were unaware of what was coming, unprepared for the effects. This was the situation for Māori. Physically, Māori were not prepared for the introduction of muskets, venereal disease, alcohol and tobacco. There was little time to set the kawa or the tikanga that would normally be set around the use of new resources and new behaviours.

Another kaimahi whānau highlighted that only today were we starting to set kawa around the use of alcohol amongst our whānau whakapapa. This was attributed to now having greater understanding around the effects of alcohol on our body. Many whānau whakapapa and hapū members were being encouraged with this understanding, to contribute to decisions that created boundaries around the use of alcohol in their homes and marae.

Before non-Māori arrived in Aotearoa, consideration of the effects of new resources and new behaviours, would have happened within the context of the whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi decision making structures. Unfortunately at the same time those new resources and new behaviours were being introduced, the whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi decision making structures were coming under threat. Individuals and whānau whakapapa were increasingly left to deal with the effects, isolated from traditional sources of support. It is not surprising that the physical toll of colonisation reached a peak by 1900 and the Māori population reached an all time low (Durie, 1994a).

The Impact On Taha Whānau

Kaimahi whānau in this study have identified the impact of colonisation on the whānau whakapapa as having been the most devastating. Roles and relationships, knowledge and skills, responsibilities and obligations changed, and with those changes came the greatest suffering. This suffering impacted on the spiritual, physical, social and psychological wellbeing of Māori and created the imbalance that affected the support available to whānau whakapapa members.

At a time when the support of the whānau whakapapa was needed to withstand the threats of colonisation, the whānau whakapapa was being undermined and deliberate attempts made to weaken it. Politician Richard Seddon in 1895 stated the goal was to “destroy this communism that now existed amongst them” (Scott, 1975, p.169). Kaimahi whānau reflected on the insidious ways that this collectivity was attacked recalling times when whānau whakapapa were enticed, and often forced because of loss of land, away from whenua tupuna where they lived amongst whānau whakapapa, to the cities for employment and “better” housing.

The Impact On Taha Hinengaro

Kaimahi whānau reflected sadly on the racism they believed came hand in hand with colonisation and acknowledged a suffering of heart and mind that resulted from exposure to racism. Many kaimahi whānau were of the view that the coloniser promoted himself as a member of a superior race; believing his race

was better and that Māori were not as good as him. These ideas came with the first non-Māori to Aotearoa (Scott, 1975; King, 2003), and were evident in quotations from politicians, public figures and journalists of the 1800s. Prominent and recently revered political figures were known to have expressed racist views on the place of Māori in the social structure of Aotearoa. Kaimahi whānau believed those views impacted negatively on the mental and emotional wellbeing of whānau whakapapa over several generations. Messages of inferiority and of being second class, became firmly embedded in the hinengaro of many of our people.

These messages promoted by the coloniser, were based on the inherent belief that natives were inferior and needed to be “civilised”. This belief was widespread amongst colonisers throughout the world. Racism is acknowledged at the heart of colonisation and oppression by Memmi (1965), Fanon (1967) and Freire (1972). The effects of the negative messages created by this racism, are detrimental to the mental wellbeing of indigenous peoples and create a loss of meaning for many. This loss of meaning and resulting loss of relationship with positive self, over several generations, is acknowledged by Joseph (1997) and Miller and Winders (2000) as contributing to the mental unwellness of many Māori today. The idea that Māori were not okay and had to be helped by non-Māori to become okay has shaped the relationship between non-Māori and Māori in Aotearoa.

Personal experiences of racism, reflected in the stories in the previous chapter, indicate the impact of racist messages on the lives of the kaimahi whānau, and the lives of whānau whakapapa around them. Those messages influenced decisions made in their lives, even the choice of marriage partner for one. Later kaimahi whānau realised those choices were unnecessary and that they were built on negative images of self, supported by the subtle racist messages they had been exposed to in their youth.

The idea of being degraded and devalued without knowing it, and being unaware of the process of domination that had influenced the way life was, is central to the concept of the Matrix, which is drawn upon in this study. As some

kaimahi whānau have indicated, the colonisation process is so insidious that individuals and whānau whakapapa are often swept up by it, their lives shaped by it in ways in which they have no conscious knowledge. This has been highlighted by Irwin (1991), Mead (1994), Vercoe (1998) and Mikaere (1999) in their analysis of leadership and the role of women. Colonisation has been so subtle in its influence on our lives that even processes and structures that are seen today as based in te ao tawhito, have changed and accommodated non-Māori values. Mead (1994) discusses how males have come to dominate decision making processes amongst some hapū and iwi, making the voices of “women and youth invisible” (p. 111). In some hapū and iwi this domination has been accepted and supported by many of our women and youth. Mead (1994) believes the valuing of the complementary role of women, and the link between maintained leadership and the achievement of collective goals, would have ensured that all members of the whānau whakapapa had a voice in the process of decision making, before colonisation.

It is evident from the kōrero of the kaimahi whānau and from the literature, that with the weakening of the whare walls, the wellbeing of our tūpuna suffered. Because the process of colonisation continues, suffering for many of the tamariki and mokopuna of those tūpuna continues. For many whānau whakapapa, the impact has accumulated over time, created increased suffering, and resulted in a loss or disconnection from the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna. These traditions, values, skills and beliefs, if not attacked by colonisation, might have contributed to the maintenance of strong taha wairua, taha tinana, taha whānau and taha hinengaro amongst those whānau whakapapa. Instead, for many, the pathways to achieving wellbeing provided by the coloniser have not contributed to the maintenance of strong taha wairua, taha tinana, taha whānau or taha hinengaro. The wellbeing of many whānau whakapapa continues to suffer today and is reflected in the kōrero of the kaimahi whānau.

Inside the Matrix: Colonisation Continuing Today

It could be argued that today, the process of colonisation has slowed, and that the reassertion of rangatiratanga by many of our whānau whakapapa over the

last thirty years has contributed to increased wellbeing for all Māori in Aotearoa. This view was not supported by the kōrero of the kaimahi whānau or by the literature (Durie, 2003). Many believed the process of colonisation was so insidious that many whānau whakapapa that had suffered continued to suffer, and those that had retained or reclaimed their connection with their tūpuna, were constantly being undermined.

Many kaimahi whānau believed that even when whānau whakapapa were connected or reconnected with the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna, there was continuous pressure to assimilate the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of the coloniser. This was illustrated well by one kaimahi whānau's comparison of colonisation to kutu. Even though kutu could be removed from the hair at home, they were very easily caught again when exposed to others outside the home with kutu. In a similar way Māori were continuously exposed to colonisation and the influences of the dominant culture. Trying to remain free of those influences was very difficult.

For some individuals and whānau whakapapa it has been difficult to assimilate even if they wanted to. One kaimahi whānau acknowledged a group of individuals and whānau whakapapa, who have continually struggled to cope with colonisation, often without knowing that colonisation is what they are struggling with. The idea of being colonised and assimilated, knowing it, being comfortable with your resulting identity, and having no internal conflict is how this kaimahi whānau described successfully coping with colonisation. For those who had not successfully coped there had been several generations of suffering as individuals and whānau whākapapa struggled with the internal conflict that had impacted on their identity. Many faced feelings of discomfort, as they grappled with the structures and expectations of the non-Māori world, as well as disconnection from te ao Māori.

Few kaimahi whānau could identify ways in which Māori had benefited from colonisation, because even new technologies and economic advantages, had in hindsight created threats, particularly to the environment. While we will never know how the world might be for Māori if colonisation had not taken place, few

kaimahi whānau believed Māori were better off because of colonisation. All that could be acknowledged was that it had, with its challenges and threats, strengthened many of our people's resolve to hold on to the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna. Kaimahi whānau confirmed the belief of Durie (2003) that the desire to live as Māori had not been lost by all. For many however, there had been loss; loss many still grieve for today.

Jaimes (1992), Noriega (1992), Churchill (1994), Duran and Duran (1995) and Weaver (2001) reflected on the struggles of many Native Americans to deal with the trauma of loss of land, culture and people resulting from colonisation. Duran and Duran (1995) believed many of their people "struggle[d] with some deeply seated anger that borders on rage" (p. 152) and that underneath this rage was another deep layer of grief which had never been allowed to heal. They believed many Native Americans anaesthetise this pain by using alcohol and other drugs. They also reflected on the intergenerational effect of this unresolved grief and suggested they needed to find resolution for the ancestors, as well as heal those ancestors' living descendants. This was deemed necessary to ensure that future generations were not "left to continue struggling with the problem" (ibid, p. 154).

As we listen to the voices of the kaimahi whānau in this study, and the voices of others in the literature, it is difficult to deny that Māori, like other indigenous peoples throughout the world, have suffered significantly from the effects of colonisation. The suffering for many has resulted in loss of connection with the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna or ancestors. While there have been many losses for Māori, identified by the kaimahi whānau and the literature, this study will focus on the loss of te reo Māori, the weakening of kaitiakitanga, and the loss of wairuatanga, kotahitanga and manaakitanga amongst many of our whānau whakapapa.

Loss Of Te Reo Māori

Kaimahi whānau believed the loss of te reo Māori amongst whānau whakapapa contributed to disconnection from the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of tūpuna. In Aotearoa te reo Māori had come close to extinction and is still

considered to be endangered (Selby, 1999). The development of kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, wharekura and wānanga reflect the recognition that radical action needed to be taken to ensure te reo Māori was not lost. However, only one in five Māori are involved in immersion te reo Māori education in Aotearoa (Durie, 2003), and recently the number of tamariki participating in kōhanga reo has declined (Taumata, 2006). Many members of whānau whakapapa are unable to kōrero te reo Māori, and many marae are struggling to provide kaiwhaikōrero and kaikaranga for tangi and hui. With the loss of language, the meaning of cultural traditions, values, skills and beliefs is distorted and relationships are lost (Memmi, 1965; Noriega, 1992; Duran & Duran, 1995). Durie (2003) and M. Jackson (2004) have highlighted this distortion in meaning, and the loss of relationship amongst Māori in Aotearoa, that results from the loss of te reo Māori.

Several kaimahi whānau believed prohibition of the use of te reo Māori in many schools during the late 19th and early 20th century, resulted in a loss of understanding of tikanga amongst Māori. The loss of te reo Māori and the subsequent impact on cultural understanding and identity was acknowledged as significant, and contributed to the disconnection of whānau whakapapa from the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna. Selby (1999) acknowledged that many Māori are unable to learn te reo Māori in later life, or participate in te ao Māori, because of the effects of being punished as a child for the use of te reo Māori at school.

Other kaimahi whānau commented on the influence of the coloniser's education system, and the lack of value placed on the history, language, stories and tikanga of our tūpuna within that system. Though some might believe this is changing, many of our mainstream schools still struggle with the application of the Treaty of Waitangi in decision making, and with validating a Māori perspective in the curriculum. This is particularly difficult when mainstream schools are dominated by non-Māori staff and Board of Trustees members.

One kaimahi whānau commented on the need for Māori centred education to be promoted more widely and positively by politicians and public figures, in the

media and other forums. This positive promotion is needed to counteract the negative publicity that supports the second class message around Māori centred education. These messages often discourage disconnected Māori from seeking those education pathways and results in a weakening of faith in the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of our tūpuna. Many whānau whakapapa are reluctant to promote the taonga of our tūpuna or te reo Māori, in the lives of their children and mokopuna, believing they are part of a past, that no longer has relevance in today's world. Bradley (1995a) has described these individuals and whānau whakapapa as having "assimilationist thinking" (p. 28). For many of these individuals and whānau whakapapa, the values of kaitiakitanga, wairuatanga, kotahitanga, and manaakitanga have also been weakened or lost.

Weakening Of Kaitiakitanga

Kaimahi whānau reflected on the weakening of kaitiakitanga amongst whānau whakapapa and the impact this had on their mahi. Kaitiakitanga is guardianship, conservation, and protection of our environment and resources (R. J. Walker, 1990; Durie, 1994a; Marsden, 2003). Recently it has been used to define the responsibility and obligation we have to mind, guard, protect and ensure the wellbeing of our whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, as well as our environment and resources (Maori Party, 2006). Kaitiakitanga is a guiding kaupapa of the Māori Party and organisations such as Te Wānanga o Raukawa. It is demonstrated and practised by Māori in their relationship with each other-Mana Tangata; the land and environment-Mana Whenua; and the providers of resources-Mana Atua. It is included in legislation related to resources (Resource Management Act, 1991) implying we have a responsibility to live in harmony with the environment.

Colonisation has weakened this responsibility and obligation amongst whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi and undermined the value of kaitiakitanga. Some individuals and whānau whakapapa have succumbed to the domination process and become assimilated into the culture of the coloniser. The pressure to do this has been very strong, particularly when the need to feed, clothe and shelter whānau whakapapa has been dependent on assimilating. This pressure was acknowledged by some of the kaimahi whānau, who within their own whānau

whakapapa and with the loss of land, were encouraged to leave home-the place where their tūpuna lived-and find employment in other rohe. This exposed many individuals and whānau whakapapa more widely to the influence of non-Māori values and beliefs, and undermined the importance of whakapapa bonds.

With the movement of individuals and parts of whānau whakapapa away from whenua tupuna, support to maintain positive wellbeing for each other from other parts or members of the whānau whakapapa, particularly kaumātua, became less accessible. Those that had moved away from whenua tupuna were less likely to exercise responsibilities and obligations back home to whanaunga, or the environment. One kaimahi whānau reflected on the expectation that a kaimahi whānau working with a whānau whakapapa, would take on the role of kaitiaki. This was attributed to the dispersal of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, and the limited access, particularly in urban areas, to other members of the whānau whakapapa, who would have previously provided that kaitiaki role.

Another kaimahi whānau questioned the ability of whānau whakapapa to guard and protect themselves when they were unable to guard and protect the environment around them. This comment confirmed the belief of tūpuna that responsibilities and obligations to protect and ensure the wellbeing of each other, were dependent on the ability to fulfil responsibilities and obligations to protect and ensure the wellbeing of the environment and resources around them. As whānau whakapapa moved away from whenua tupuna, outside influences and responsibilities started to have more impact on the shape of Māori lives than obligations to, and the influence of, whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. With this weakening of kaitiakitanga came the loss of spiritual values connected with Mana Atua, Mana Tupuna and Mana Whenua and the loss of wairuatanga.

Loss Of Wairuatanga

Kaimahi whānau acknowledged the loss of wairuatanga amongst whānau whakapapa. Wairuatanga is the connection we have with all that has been, is and will be; connection with one's tūpuna, whenua tupuna, the environment and all taonga of te ao Māori. Wairua is the source of all life and existence

(Marsden, 2003). Wairuatanga is the collective bringing together of the unseen world, the natural world, and the world beyond space and time (P. Te O. Ruwhiu & L. Ruwhiu, 1999). Tūpuna acknowledged and celebrated the relationships between those worlds. Those relationships gave meaning to all the traditions, values, skills and beliefs that were a part of their lives. Although wairuatanga might today encompass religious beliefs and practices (Durie, 1994a), these were not regarded by tūpuna as the sole essence of wairuatanga. For tūpuna, wairuatanga ensured the continued celebration of Mana Atua, Mana Tupuna, Mana Whenua and Mana Tangata, creating purpose and value for all dimensions of their lives.

Today, wairuatanga is one of the kaupapa on which the Māori Party in Aotearoa has been founded. It has been examined broadly in local literature (Murchie, 1984; Durie, 1994a; Pere, 1997; P. Te O. Ruwhiu & L. Ruwhiu, 2005) and is regarded as an essential element in the enhancement of wellbeing amongst whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. Duran and Duran (1995) and Irniq (2004) have identified the importance of the relationship between the seen and unseen worlds; the past, the present and the future; for indigenous peoples in other parts of the world. Just as there is a loss of wairuatanga amongst many whānau whakapapa today in Aotearoa, there has also been a loss of spirituality amongst other indigenous peoples.

The illustration of kutu provided by one kaimahi whānau, highlighted the insidious nature in which colonisation undermined relationships between whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi and their environments, and between the worlds that were important to our tūpuna. This undermining has created dilemmas for many of our people wanting to acknowledge and celebrate wairuatanga in their lives, particularly when those beliefs are challenged by the coloniser. This was evident recently when the acknowledgement of a taniwha in the Waikato River, and the relationship of local hapū with that taniwha, was undermined in the media and viewed as an obstacle to progress. With this constant undermining over several generations, many whānau whakapapa have found it difficult to maintain the spiritual beliefs and relationships of their tūpuna.

Often other religious beliefs and practices have come to dominate understandings of wairuatanga.

Through the media, entertainment and communication industries, influences from outside Aotearoa, have also contributed to undermining the value of wairuatanga. Obsessions with materialism and consumerism, promoted through advertising, encourage many to focus only on satisfying their own individual needs in the present. This view undermines the relationships between the past, the present and the future, and discourages acknowledgement of wairuatanga.

Kaimahi whānau voiced other concerns about the loss of wairuatanga. One kaimahi whānau struggled to identify specifically what some Māori had lost but alluded to a loss of wairua-of connectedness-by acknowledging that something to do with Māori was lost. A spiritual thing that meant there was something not complete in their journey. Another kaimahi whānau reflected on those whānau whakapapa who had never stood in their own whare tupuna, and the loss that was for them. Durie (2003) discussed the importance of this experience and highlighted the facilitation skills required by kaimahi whānau to create opportunities for those experiences to take place. In his description of Paiheretia or relational therapy, Durie (2003) promoted the need for kaimahi whānau to meet the tasks of “facilitating access, guiding encounters and promoting understanding” (p. 56) amongst Māori who had impaired access to te ao Māori.

Several kaimahi whānau emphasised the significance of wairuatanga in their mahi, honouring the relationship between their own tūpuna and the tūpuna of the whānau whakapapa they were supporting. They often drew upon relationships with Mana Atua, Mana Tupuna and Mana Whenua and believed they were not working as individual kaimahi whānau, but in relationship with others utilising resources from the seen and unseen worlds. This would happen even when whānau whakapapa they supported, no longer acknowledged wairuatanga in their lives.

While kaimahi whānau emphasised the loss of wairuatanga in the lives of many whānau whakapapa today, they believed the relationships could be regained and provide a source of positive wellbeing. They observed that amongst those whānau whakapapa who had regained, and now valued, wairuatanga in their lives, there was a renewed sense of kotahitanga. However, the loss of wairuatanga amongst many whānau whakapapa, also highlighted the loss of kotahitanga.

Loss Of Kotahitanga

Kaimahi whānau believed that the loss of te reo Māori, the weakening of kaitiakitanga and the loss of wairuatanga through colonisation, had impacted on the ability of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, to achieve kotahitanga. Even the task of coming together to consider the wellbeing of one of their own tamariki or mokopuna was difficult for many whānau whakapapa. The challenge of then creating, agreeing and committing to a shared pathway of support was even more difficult. Kotahitanga is the process of bringing together as one; unification to support and work towards a common purpose or vision. Tūpuna valued kotahitanga as it was essential to achieve collective goals and ensure survival (R. J. Walker, 1990). The value of kotahitanga is highlighted by the honouring of different roles, strengths and relationships within whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, and the desire to reach consensus in decisions that had to be made.

Different whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi perspectives aside, there are generic issues related to the wellbeing of Māori in Aotearoa today that would be more easily resolved with unity of purpose to address those issues. Like those tūpuna who formed the Kotahitanga Movement in the 1860s (R. J. Walker, 1990), there has always been a belief that kotahitanga will create better futures for Māori in Aotearoa. This view is supported by the Maori Party today, which seeks to bring Māori together to demonstrate commitment and unity in the reassertion of rangatiratanga (Māori Party, 2006). Like the Māori Party, many seek support for the wellbeing of Māori through the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of our tūpuna. However many Māori are unable to support this vision because they are disconnected from the knowledge of these traditions, values,

skills and beliefs. This creates disunity and impacts on the relationships amongst people.

Kaimahi whānau believed colonisation had created this disunity amongst whānau whakapapa by undermining roles and relationships. This loss of kotahitanga resulted from the loss of relationship with whenua tupuna, loss of relationship with the environment and loss of relationships with each other. The loss of meaning created, contributed to a loss of identity (Joseph, 1997; Carter, 1998; Miller & Winders, 2000), and for one kaimahi whānau a loss of mana.

One kaimahi whānau reflected on the huge diversity of being Māori. Acknowledged by Bradley (1995a), Jonson (Jonson, Su'a and Crichton-Hill, 1997), Walsh-Tapiata (2002), Durie (2003) and Coupe (2005), this diversity creates many different realities for individual Māori and their whānau whakapapa, weakening the ability to embrace kotahitanga in their lives. Many are unable to relate to the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their grandparents, and lack understanding or respect for the value of reaching whānau whakapapa decisions around particular behaviours or lifestyles.

Another kaimahi whānau promoted the need to negotiate kawa amongst whānau whakapapa, so that boundaries were created and maintained around roles, relationships and behaviour. This process was difficult when whānau whakapapa members had different perspectives and understandings of the value of having kawa. Kaimahi whānau acknowledged that often whānau whakapapa members were strangers to each other, and this was reflected in their inability to achieve kotahitanga around a particular issue. This is often evident in decisions made around the utilisation of land and other resources. Often large numbers of landowners choose not to participate, or fail to reach consensus or commitment towards a shared vision of development. This loss of kotahitanga has impacted on the types of relationships whānau whakapapa members have with each other, and the manaakitanga they show within those relationships.

Loss Of Manaakitanga

Many kaimahi whānau reflected on the loss of manaakitanga in whānau whakapapa relationships. Manaakitanga is a commitment to acknowledge the mana that is inherent in all tāngata; a willingness to honour that mana by showing respect, caring for, and generously giving comfort and support to those who make their way into one's life. Marsden (2003) acknowledges manaaki as "the bestowing of blessing" (p. 71). Manaakitanga is the bestowing of blessing on others in response to the blessing they have bestowed by their presence. Manaakitanga is demonstrated on marae when manuhiri (guests) are honoured with the provision of hospitality, an abundance of kai and local delicacies, and entertainment. Manaakitanga is also one of the kaupapa on which the Māori Party is founded in Aotearoa and is described as "the giving of prestige to or elevating the prestige of individuals or whānau" (Māori Party, 2006).

Kaimahi whānau were concerned that amongst many whānau whakapapa there was little bestowing of blessing on each other; roles were not being given prestige and manaakitanga was not always experienced in relationships. Within many whānau whakapapa, the role of kaumātua had been lost or undermined, resulting in a loss of guidance for many rangatahi, particularly young parents and often young women. Kaimahi whānau believed some kaumātua still actively involved in their whānau whakapapa were being ignored by them. Others were being asked to care for tamariki but were not given respect for the wisdom and knowledge they could offer to support the whānau whakapapa. Some kaumātua were even being abused by their own whānau whakapapa.

One kaimahi whānau spoke about the blurring of boundaries in relationships and around interactions with others. While in the past, tapu and noa, utu and muru had maintained the balance of mana in relationships (R. J. Walker, 1990) and mana had been honoured through manaakitanga, the undermining of these concepts had left some whānau whakapapa with no tikanga or kawa on which to structure their relationships or behaviour towards each other. As a result, the mana of others was easily trampled on, and given little consideration in choices of behaviour and relationship.

Significant people in the lives of whānau whakapapa, were not being honoured in ways that acknowledged they were a bestowal of blessing. In particular, the mana of wāhine and tamariki was dishonoured, uncared for and unsupported in many whānau whakapapa. Colonised attitudes supporting male dominance had replaced the notion of value for different, but complementary roles amongst whānau whakapapa members (Irwin, 1991; Mead, 1994; Mikaere, 1999). Kaimahi whānau agreed this loss of balance and manaakitanga in relationships, was contributing to the acceptance of abuse and violence towards wāhine and tamariki (Mikaere, 2000). This loss was viewed as a direct result of colonisation.

Kaimahi whānau believed colonisation had disconnected many whānau whakapapa from manaakitanga and other values that would support the positive wellbeing and development of Māori today. They believed the loss of te reo Maori, the weakening of kaitiakitanga and the loss of wairuatanga, kotahitanga and manaakitanga continued inside the Matrix today, preventing many whānau whakapapa from exiting the Matrix, and strengthening those values.

Strengthening those values, and reclaiming the traditions, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna would regain for many whānau whakapapa, the choice to live in the way that their tūpuna rangatira lived. Rangatira were leaders. That leadership was bestowed through the recognition of Mana Atua, Mana Tupuna and Mana Tangata. Rangatira were leaders because they were chosen in various ways to be leaders. Leadership was retained through support from the collective. Rangatira, lived as rangatira before them had lived. They chose to carry on the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna. Rangatiratanga is the exercising of that choice (Vercoe, 1998). Colonisation denies that choice for many whānau whakapapa.

Asserting Rangatiratanga

Despite choice being denied for many whānau whakapapa, kaimahi whānau celebrated those tūpuna that had continued to assert rangatiratanga and who had through their strength and tenacity, allowed many whānau whakapapa to retain that choice today. Those whānau whakapapa remained connected to the

traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna, and continued to assert rangatiratanga in their lives. They chose to live as their tūpuna rangatira lived. This was evident throughout the stories of the kaimahi whānau. A pattern emerged of strength and faith in a positive future for Māori in Aotearoa.

Because of the efforts of those tūpuna many of the traditions, values, skills and beliefs that had shaped whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi lives for centuries, had not been lost to all. Although they had endured suffering and loss throughout the colonisation process, some tūpuna maintained activities and practices in secret, and kept those taonga alive. For the descendants of those tūpuna, connections to the past remain and wairuatanga is intact for the mokopuna of tomorrow. The strength of those tūpuna has encouraged many amongst present generations to continue to assert rangatiratanga, and to support the positive wellbeing of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi from a tūpuna worldview.

Over the last thirty years many Māori, including the kaimahi whānau in this study, have actively pursued the reclaiming, preserving and continuing of the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna. With the development of kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, wharekura and wānanga, Māori have had more opportunities to nurture the taonga and mātauranga of tūpuna, and incorporate them into their own lives and the lives of their whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. Durie (2003) stated that in 1997 “one in five Māori students were participating in Māori medium education” (p. 144). Many of those tamariki and mokopuna were now fulfilling the dreams of tūpuna who had persistently struggled against assimilation, and were asserting rangatiratanga in their lives.

Kaimahi whānau believed that being Māori amongst Māori had become cool, and with intermarriage and an increasingly youthful population, the numbers of Māori who were proud and confident to be Māori continued to grow. This increased confidence helped to negate the messages created by racism, and rubbed off onto others, encouraging more tamariki and rangatahi to participate in the reclaiming, preserving and continuing process.

Kaimahi whānau emphasised that despite pressure to abandon an holistic view of wellbeing, particularly from those who supported a medical model of health, the wellbeing of individuals was dependent on the wellbeing of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. They believed that by retaining and reclaiming the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna, whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi would move towards positive wellbeing and development. In te ao hurihuri the taonga of tūpuna would provide the “medicine” for taha wairua, taha tinana, taha whānau and taha hinengaro, without the need to reject all new knowledge offered by other peoples.

The challenge for many kaimahi whānau working in the area of whānau whakapapa development is being able to utilise those traditions, values, skills and beliefs to heal, and then support the continued wellbeing of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi.(L. Ruwhiu, 1995; Dreardon, 1997; Pōhatu, 2003). This is particularly challenging when the whānau whakapapa they are working with, are disconnected from te ao Māori and/or continually struggling with the pressure from colonisation to move away from utilising those concepts in their lives. These same challenges are faced by many indigenous family workers in other lands (Duran & Duran, 1995; Weaver, 2001; Sinclair, 2004).

The kaimahi whānau in this study shared stories of those challenges. Some of the stories were about the struggle to utilise the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of tūpuna in a social work context that supported racism and colonisation. Some found the extent of the impact of colonisation overwhelming. Others celebrated the way they were able to utilise the traditions of their tūpuna in their mahi. All kaimahi whānau celebrated the strength of many whānau whakapapa to retain rangatiratanga, despite the imposition of other worldviews on their lives. Some kaimahi whānau reflected on the ways in which whānau whakapapa harnessed this strength to create better opportunities for their whānau whakapapa in te ao hurihuri. This included the setting up of whānau whakapapa trusts, and education and business ventures.

Despite working within the coloniser’s social work system, many kaimahi whānau found they could work around that system. With accountability back to

their tūpuna, rather than the system, they were able to practise in a more acceptable way with whānau. An understanding of the impact of colonisation and an ability to work within the demands of social service contracts between government and Māori, enabled kaimahi whānau to practise social work in the way that best met the needs of their people. Kaimahi whānau were reminded of the messages from their tūpuna that they carried with them in their mahi, and always asked the question of whether the decisions they made were good for the whānau whakapapa; good for the hapū.

Kaimahi whānau acknowledged that when working with whānau whakapapa they not only met with the living members of that whānau whakapapa, but also brought their own tūpuna to meet with the tūpuna of that whānau whakapapa. Acknowledging the presence of tūpuna in the relationship between them, recognised the guidance and support provided by tūpuna, and ensured accountability to whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi was real. Kaimahi whānau believed accountability to tūpuna, whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi was enhanced when the kaimahi whānau lived and worked in their own iwi rohe.

This awareness of relationships with ancestors is also a theme which guides the work of indigenous peoples in North America (Duran & Duran, 1995; Weaver, 2001). There, ancestral spiritual practices are promoted as necessary to ensure the restoration of positive wellbeing, for both past and present generations. This belief emphasises the spiritual nature of many of the issues faced by indigenous peoples throughout the world, and highlights the need to regain lost spirituality, and for Māori, wairuatanga.

Wairuatanga promotes relationships between the different worlds of our tūpuna. In the seen world, our relationships are established through whanaungatanga (Durie, 2003). Whanaungatanga is the means by which we create, maintain and strengthen relationships within whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, based on whakapapa. It is also the maintenance of kinship ties across the universe (Pere, 1997). More recently whanaungatanga has been used to refer to the relationships between people who are not necessarily linked through kinship (P. Te O. Ruwhiu & L. Ruwhiu, 2005). For the purposes of this study,

whanaungatanga will refer to the promotion of relationships of kinship. Kaimahi whānau emphasised the need to strengthen whanaungatanga amongst whānau whakapapa, believing this would enhance their wellbeing and encourage positive development. Strengthening whanaungatanga would provide a means of reclaiming the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna, and asserting rangatiratanga.

Strengthening Whanaungatanga

Various means of strengthening whanaungatanga were described by the kaimahi whānau. Some believed the process of guiding whānau whakapapa back to Māoritanga, was a means of teaching whānau whakapapa about whanaungatanga and tikanga Māori. Natural inclinations to support each other were acknowledged as inherent within whānau whakapapa. Reigniting relationships and instilling excitement around Māori processes helped to empower whānau whakapapa. Confidence to use those processes and to learn about themselves and the environment around them, enabled whānau whakapapa and kaimahi whānau to draw on an increased pool of resources, to support their own wellbeing and the wellbeing of others in their whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. Often the mahi was about supporting whānau whakapapa to tap into already existing or under utilised resources.

Kaimahi whānau were supporting whānau whakapapa to develop kawa around decision making, around relationships and around managing behaviour and resources. This was about tapping into resources that had been left dormant or under utilised, as whānau whakapapa had struggled with the impact of colonisation. In terms of understanding what had impacted on their wellbeing, some kaimahi whānau believed many whānau whakapapa had a sense that something wasn't right. They had been struggling to cope with colonisation, with a part of themselves asleep. The mahi was about waking whānau whakapapa up, supporting them to realise that the part of themselves that was asleep, was the part that would actually enable them to cope.

That part is the strength they carry with them from their tūpuna. It includes a whole body of knowledge that can provide guidance and practices to enable

their whānau whakapapa to have wellbeing in te ao hurihuri. Whānau whakapapa development is about supporting whānau whakapapa to utilise this knowledge; this sense of knowing, and value it's relevance in today's world. From the viewpoint of many kaimahi whānau, this is the only support whānau whakapapa require. Once the body of knowledge is awoken and tapped into, whānau whakapapa are reconnected with their tūpuna and able to nurture other relationships and roles. These relationships reconnect the past, the present and the future and ensure positive whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi development. This process was about rebuilding a secure foundation on which to launch themselves into the future.

Exiting The Matrix: Restoring Rangatiratanga

The faith held by kaimahi whānau in the restoration of rangatiratanga amongst whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi in Aotearoa, is symbolised in the whakatauki

E kore au e ngaro he kākano e ruia mai i a Rangiātea.

All kaimahi whānau were positive about the future for Māori, and the potential seed within our whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. They believed, that despite the disconnectedness of many whānau whakapapa from te ao Māori, the strength of our tūpuna voice in today's world through Māori centred education pathways and the development of a strong Māori political voice, would ensure that the positive profile of te ao Māori would touch and influence the lives of all whānau whakapapa, in the future. With this growing positivity around being Māori, whānau whakapapa would awaken the part of them that slept, and tap into the resources that that part could provide.

When a facilitated decolonisation process allowing whānau whakapapa to come together, explore the journey of their tūpuna and themselves through colonisation, and awaken the part of them that slept, was explored with the kaimahi whānau several responses were shared. All embraced a faith in the strength of whānau whakapapa to overcome the effects of colonisation.

For some kaimahi whānau, what was already happening now in te ao Māori, in terms of education and political independence, was considered enough to awaken all whānau whakapapa. Others, while not negating the need for some form of decolonisation process to take place for whānau whakapapa, felt the timing was not yet right for any facilitated process to be promoted. They believed that whānau whakapapa would need to come to a place where they wanted to go through such a process together. If the opportunity to participate in such a process was offered today, many whānau whakapapa would be unwilling. They believed it could take several generations before they would be willing.

For the kaimahi whānau that preferred to use the term whakawātea, rather than decolonisation, the process was about clearing the way of all the hara so whānau whakapapa could restore their own rangatiratanga. A facilitated whakawātea process, as described in the introductory chapter (Te Korowai Aroha Aotearoa's Te Pūtake workshop), was seen as one of the only ways around to fast track awareness and to provide Māori with answers as to why they were in the situations they were in. It was believed that this process of whakawātea would reignite the sleeping strength inside them and open their mind, body and spirit to mātauranga Māori. While not the answer for all Māori, this kaimahi whānau believed it was a very effective means of exploring the negative messages created by generations of colonisation and racism.

Some kaimahi whānau acknowledged that the facilitated process of decolonisation or whakawātea experience, that they had been exposed to, had been helpful to them and to some of the whānau whakapapa they had worked with in the past. They believed the process could provide potential understanding and healing for others, but identified a number of challenges in putting it into practice. These challenges included resources, time, the willingness of whānau whakapapa, and the appropriateness of this type of intervention when whānau whakapapa were struggling to survive and meet their basic needs of food, shelter and warmth.

One kaimahi whānau saw potential for the use of a facilitated process of decolonisation in the healing of whānau whakapapa, particularly those still struggling to cope with colonisation. This view was expressed acknowledging that different whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi would have different needs, dependent on their ability to cope with colonisation at its onset. Some whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi were viewed as having coped better with colonisation because they had retained land and resources, or were geographically isolated from the influence of non-Māori values in their lives. Other whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi were identified as having suffered more because they had supported, and promoted support of, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, which had then not been honoured.

An understanding of the historical impact of colonisation on their own lives and the lives of other members of their own whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, was regarded as important for kaimahi whānau working amongst Māori. This was also advocated when working amongst other indigenous peoples (Duran & Duran, 1995; Weaver, 2001; Sinclair, 2004). A facilitated process of decolonisation was seen as potentially useful for staff development amongst helping professions, particularly kaimahi Māori, as it encouraged an understanding of their own colonisation and the intergenerational effects of colonisation on the whānau whakapapa they were working with. Several agencies, like Te Rūnanga o Raukawa, were encouraging their Māori staff to participate in decolonisation workshops.

While support for a widespread “programme of decolonisation which effectively educates people about the history of this country” (Vercoe, 1998, p. 85) was not strongly evident in the exploration of this concept with Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga kaimahi whānau, there was potential in their voice for the idea to be further explored.

Conclusion

Although the analogy of the Matrix was not directly explored with the kaimahi whānau, they supported the view that many of our whānau whakapapa were stuck in the programme created by colonisation. Described by one kaimahi

whānau as stuck there with their blinkers on, these whānau whakapapa could be viewed as trapped inside the Matrix. The Matrix prevents them from reconnecting with and awakening the world of their tūpuna. Only by exiting the Matrix can this world be awakened. Providing opportunities for whakawātea - a facilitated process of decolonisation - amongst whānau whakapapa, could enable them to exit the Matrix, reconnect with the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna and restore their own rangatiratanga.

Regardless of their views on the potential role of a facilitated process of decolonisation in positive whānau whakapapa development, kaimahi whānau confirmed the positive energy that is being created in te ao Māori at this time. That energy, the strength of tūpuna, and the continued assertion of rangatiratanga amongst many whānau whakapapa, will ensure positive futures for their mokopuna, despite the ongoing attack of colonisation and racism on their lives. However, for those whānau whakapapa who have succumbed to the continued attack on their rangatiratanga, and assimilated the worldview of the coloniser, there is a struggle to create positive futures for their mokopuna. For many of these whānau whakapapa, regaining te reo Māori, strengthening kaitiakitanga, and reclaiming wairuatanga, kotahitanga and manaakitanga-those values important to tūpuna-would empower them to restore their own rangatiratanga and become their own social workers. Strengthening whanaungatanga has been promoted as the means to enable this to happen.

The concluding chapter will outline the recommendations of this study, and further discuss the potential use of a facilitated process of decolonisation, or whakawātea, to restore rangatiratanga. This process will be promoted as a means of strengthening whanaungatanga, awakening whānau whakapapa and allowing more whānau whakapapa to enjoy positive development and wellbeing, through utilising the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna in te ao hurihuri.

Chapter Six

RECONNECTING OURSELVES TO EXIT THE MATRIX

You shall know the truth and the truth shall set you free (Sterling, 1992, p. 5).

Introduction

The truth is not always easily sought or known. The truth for one person is not necessarily the truth for another. This study has uncovered some of the truths about colonisation and social work in Aotearoa. The truths that have been presented, are those voiced by kaimahi whānau of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga. These truths, while perhaps similar to those of kaimahi whānau in other iwi, and those working amongst other indigenous peoples, may not represent their truths completely. The stories of colonisation and its effects will be different, truths will be varied. The hope is that the truths presented in this study, will encourage other kaimahi whānau in Aotearoa and those working amongst colonised indigenous people in other lands, to reflect on their own truths and consider how allowing others to reflect on their own truths, might set them free and enhance their wellbeing.

This chapter explores the implications of this study and considers how the truths uncovered in the stories of the kaimahi whānau of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga can be used to enhance whānau whakapapa development in Aotearoa. In reflecting on the implications of this research for social work practice in Aotearoa, and identifying areas of future research, it is expected that an understanding in mind and in spirit will emerge around the potential role of a facilitated process of decolonisation or whakawātea in supporting positive whānau whakapapa development and wellbeing. The findings of this study are expected to contribute to understanding the potential role of a facilitated process of decolonisation amongst other indigenous peoples.

Learning Our Truths

This study was initiated to determine if a facilitated process of decolonisation, or whakawātea, promoted by rūpū like Te Korowai Aroha o Aotearoa; was a means of enhancing whānau whakapapa development and wellbeing in Aotearoa. The research question emerged from the belief, confirmed in this

study, that colonisation and the racism that justified it had, and continues to have, a devastating impact on the wellbeing of Māori and the positive development of whānau whakapapa in Aotearoa.

From the first moment that the idea of colonisation was likened to the Matrix; as represented in the recently popular movies, and described earlier in this study; it seemed obvious that for those still trapped inside the Matrix of colonisation and only exposed to the truths of the coloniser; the only means of exiting the Matrix, was to learn about their own truths; the truths about their own lives, and more importantly the truths about their tūpuna lives. Many of those truths have been hidden or repressed from their conscious thought, and for many trapped inside the Matrix, there have been few opportunities to uncover those truths.

This study argues that in order for Māori to have a choice about exiting the Matrix and reconnecting with the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna, it is important that they have opportunities amongst themselves to share their stories and experiences, and discover their truths. This would enable them to make informed choices about their lives and the lives of their whānau whakapapa, based on those truths rather than the truths of the coloniser supported in the Matrix. For this study, the Matrix analogy has worked well, it has made sense and provided a useful framework to explore colonisation and decolonisation.

Until recently, those Māori seeking their own truths, have had to look beyond the history books of their school days and the voices of public media. If they were fortunate enough to still be connected with te ao Māori, participating in marae activities and whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi activities, then they had more opportunities to uncover their own truths. Koroua and kuia, hold their truths in their hearts, their minds and their souls. Kaimahi whānau shared kōrero about this; the sadness and the howling for their mokopuna, and reflected on the changes those kaumātua had experienced over their lifetimes.

Opportunities to share those experiences are available to some mokopuna as they listen to the stories of their kaumātua, read their own hapū and iwi

histories, and involve themselves in the many forms of mahi toi that carry the messages of the past. Māori centred education pathways that have grown from the persistent struggle of our tūpuna and more recent leaders, have provided increased opportunities for mokopuna to listen, to hear and to reflect on the journey whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi have taken since arrival in Aotearoa.

Other opportunities to hear those stories have been created with the Waitangi Tribunal claims process. Whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi have immersed themselves in the activity of uncovering their truths and injustices, and these activities have in many cases strengthened the resolve of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi to utilise the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna in their lives today. Those opportunities ensure that the taonga of their tūpuna are not lost and remain alive for future generations.

The Impact Of Colonisation

Despite the positive journeys Māori are taking to assert rangatiratanga based on their own truths, colonisation and racism continue to affect the lives of many Māori in Aotearoa. Whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi structures have been shaken, and while they remain intact for many, other whānau whakapapa are disconnected from the mātauranga Māori that could reconnect them with the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna. Mead (1994), Vercoe (1998) and Mikaere (1999) argue that even when we remain connected to te ao Māori, we need to be reflecting on the structures that we support. In many instances colonisation has insidiously crept into a Maori view of the world; an example is the role of women, and leadership in te ao Māori. With the influence of non-Māori values, the complementary roles of wāhine and tāne in leadership and development, have become distorted amongst many whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. Sometimes even what we call te ao Māori may need decolonising.

The process of colonisation has attacked many of the structures on which tūpuna lives were built. For many whānau whakapapa, relationships have weakened, roles and responsibilities have become unclear. An estranged relationship with whānau whakapapa is now the reality for many. Whānau whakapapa activity has for many, become less important than activity focused

around religious, sporting, social, educational and employment whānau. As a result support from whānau whakapapa is not always accessible, and the spiritual ties and obligations inherent in whānau whakapapa relationships are not always acknowledged. Kaimahi whānau believed that often when they were supporting these whānau they were also expected to play the role of matua, whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. These expectations were unrealistic and often overwhelming for kaimahi whānau.

Kotahitanga

Durie (2003) has indicated that while many Māori have opportunities to assert rangatiratanga and incorporate the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna into their lives, because they remain connected with te ao Māori, there are many who have lost that connection. This has impacted on the ability of Māori to nurture kotahitanga; to share a common vision for our future. The diverse realities of Māori today highlighted by the kaimahi whānau in this study confirm the difficulties of realising this kotahitanga.

Hapū and iwi differences aside, there are and have been opportunities for kotahitanga in the political arena that have to date been unrealised (Hirst, 2005). Many Māori appear to lack faith in the ability of Māori to deliver for Māori, or do not understand the historical issues that impact on Māori today. Party vote support for the Māori Party in the 2005 Election in Aotearoa only reached 2.5% of the total vote. With a total Māori population of 12% eligible to vote there was an expectation that the Māori Party would receive a greater share of the party vote. Of those Māori registered to vote only 52% chose to register on the Māori roll. Others felt they were better represented on the General roll. Of those eligible to vote 60,000 Māori were not enrolled on either roll (Hirst, 2005). While these figures may reflect demographic trends-the Māori population being youthful and possibly unconvinced of the relevance of the political system to the issues they face in their lives-the apparent lack of kotahitanga towards a political vision warrants further research, particularly research that considers the impact of colonisation in shaping political participation and choice.

While the number of Māori participating in te ao Māori may be increasing, the number not participating, may still weaken the extent to which all whānau

whakapapa can enjoy spiritual, physical, social and psychological wellbeing in years to come. If we believe that the needs of all Māori should be met, and that the achievement of wellbeing for all whānau whakapapa members is a collective goal for us all, then attention may need to be given to the hearts, souls and minds of those who remain disconnected. It may be important to consider how well we actually are, if only some of our whānau whakapapa are well and others are not. While some are free to be guided by their tūpuna to make decisions about their lives and support the future wellbeing of their mokopuna, other whānau whakapapa remain trapped in the Matrix and disconnected from this guidance. If the strength of the whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi is dependent on the strength of all members, then collective rangatiratanga will only be restored, when all whānau whakapapa are free to exit the Matrix and guided by their tūpuna to make decisions about their lives.

Rangatiratanga

This study claims that rangatiratanga; the choice to live as our tūpuna rangatira lived; will only be achieved if we exit the Matrix. A facilitated process of decolonisation, has been proposed as the means of motivating those inside the Matrix to exit and assert rangatiratanga. This study advocates that positive whānau whakapapa development and wellbeing will only be achieved if all members of the whānau whakapapa are able to be freed from the Matrix and assert rangatiratanga together.

It is in considering what will make them free, well and able to assert rangatiratanga in their lives, that the voices of kaimahi whānau in this study have been focused. All kaimahi whānau have agreed that the strengthening of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi through reclaiming, preserving and continuing the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of our tūpuna, will be the way in which freedom and positive wellbeing will be achieved. The challenge on which there was not agreement was how those disconnected from te ao Māori, through the effects of colonisation, come to a place where they would choose to practise the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna, and incorporate them in to their modern lives.

Most kaimahi whānau saw this happening naturally as disconnected whānau whakapapa, touched by the positive wairua created in the lives of other connected whānau whakapapa members, reconnected with te ao Māori. Kaimahi whānau observed this happening in many whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi as members of the same whānau whakapapa, pursued Māori centred education pathways, and become more involved in marae activities and whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. This is happening without permanent residence of whānau whakapapa on whenua tupuna, and in effect this decolonisation is happening to individuals and whānau whakapapa throughout Aotearoa.

However, this study was not solely intended for those that were naturally finding their way back to te ao Māori or making the most of the many opportunities available today to reconnect with te ao Māori. This study was also intended for those Māori who through the effects of colonisation have become so disconnected from te ao Māori, that they might not ever take the opportunities now available to them, or naturally reconnect with te ao Māori. For many of these people who are trapped inside the Matrix, colonisation has had such an impact on their lives that their view of themselves and of te ao Māori is not positive, or is viewed as irrelevant to their lives in today's world. For many of these people who might often appear well, the freedom to be authentic, to be themselves is denied and prevents them from being truly well.

This study proposes that the way to connect these people back to te ao Māori is through their own whānau whakapapa. A facilitated process of decolonisation amongst whānau whakapapa would allow them to regain whanaungatanga, and come to some understanding of what had created their disconnection from te ao Māori. Only then would they have the choice to exit the Matrix, and assert rangatiratanga. It is important then to consider who will initiate these facilitated processes of decolonisation, or whakawātea, as they have been referred to by one kaimahi whānau, and what role our leaders could play in promoting this.

Professor Whatarangi Winiata has reflected on leadership and the role of leaders in “binding and unifying” (Diamond, 2003, p.67) whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. He believes that this aspect of a leader's role can often take second place to “building up the putea” (ibid) in today's world. Leaders could

contribute to this binding and unifying, and promote positive whānau whakapapa development, by initiating facilitated processes of decolonisation. Durie (2003) has identified whānau whakapapa development as a key area that must be focused on to achieve kotahitanga. Kaimahi whānau in this study also stressed the need to strengthen relationships amongst whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi and to support their access to mātauranga Māori, believing this would enhance the wellbeing of those who are still suffering from colonisation. This study confirms that reclaiming roles and responsibilities, renegotiating tikanga and kawa and strengthening whakapapa relationships are crucial for the positive long term development and wellbeing of Māori.

Implications For Social Work By Māori

In this study kaimahi whānau were asked to consider the role of social work amongst Māori within the context of colonisation. Many of the kaimahi whānau in this study challenged the relevance of professional social work in te ao Māori. Acknowledging that the origins of the social work profession as we know it today, were found in the non-Māori theories of sociology, psychology and human development, kaimahi whānau questioned the need to impose another form of colonisation on to Māori in Aotearoa, preferring to work towards positive whānau whakapapa development and refer to themselves as kaimahi whānau. Many practised using the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna, and approached their mahi from the worldview of their tūpuna, assuming their role was to support the strengthening of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi so that they could assert rangatiratanga in their own lives.

The kaimahi whānau gave examples of the systems that are set up to provide government directed support to whānau in Aotearoa today. Those who participated in this study have worked for a wide variety of government, community and iwi social service agencies, both statutory and non-statutory. Very few were satisfied with the systems and processes put in place by mainstream for the support of whānau whakapapa. Some questioned the practices of mainstream agencies in relation to meeting bicultural policies and attracting pūtea to provide services for Māori. The consensus was that providing services to Māori by Māori in a Māori way and with Māori control, would have

the most positive impact on Māori. The difficulty is that many Māori continue to interact with non-Māori workers either because there are few kaimahi whānau available in mainstream services they must use (J. Bradley, Jacob & R. Bradley, 1999) or because they choose to work with non-Māori workers. Sometimes the negative messages around being Māori, created by colonisation and racism, have contributed to these choices (Jonson, Su'a and Crichton-Hill, 1997).

There are several issues highlighted by the kaimahi whānau that warrant further consideration. One is the level of commitment non-Māori services have to the support of Māori and the ways in which they provide that support. Another is the extent to which those non-Māori services perpetuate the racist messages of colonisation and how those messages impact on the whānau whakapapa that use those services. Whether kaimahi whānau want to work for those non-Māori services, or see those services as relevant to Māori, is another issue to consider. They are not likely to want to work in agencies that do not give value and priority to a Māori view of the world when working with Māori.

Another issue is the role of non-Māori controlled contracts and processes on the mahi of Māori and iwi based service providers. If non-Māori are sincere in their efforts to support the wellbeing of Māori, then it is expected that sufficient resources be made available to Māori to provide services in the way they want to, without the accountability to non-Māori structures. As several kaimahi whānau stated, their accountability is first to their tūpuna, kaumātua, whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. Trusting Māori structures to provide their own accountability is not always evident in social service provision in Aotearoa and appears to reflect the view of those early non-Māori politicians and public figures who believed they knew what was best for Māori.

Another issue is the extent to which support is being offered to Māori within a whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi context. With urbanisation, many whānau whakapapa are separated from their tūrangawaewae and relying on the support of Māori community agencies, and other iwi agencies, in the cities and towns where they live. The focus back home where the tūpuna lived, is difficult at times because home has become the city for many. Resources to provide Māori with experiences back home and to reconnect with whānau whakapapa, hapū

and iwi scattered throughout Aotearoa, Australia and beyond, are not always available.

Again, while those who remain connected with te ao Māori find various ways to retain relationships with home, there are many who do not have the resources or choose not to do so. This is a challenge faced by Maori leaders today. Inclusivity is considered the natural inclination of Māori and accounts for why when separated from whānau whakapapa, Māori form strong relationships amongst whānau kaupapa. These are whānau built around religious, sporting, social, education, or employment kaupapa. However, as kaimahi whānau highlighted, when members of these whānau kaupapa were stressed and seeking support, the spiritual relationships back to whānau whakapapa were the most needed. If they were lost, the kaimahi whānau was expected to fulfil the role of the whānau whakapapa. Sometimes this expectation was unrealistic. It was evident from their kōrero, that ways needed to be found to harness this natural inclination to form whānau, so that those that were connected by whakapapa, also played significant roles in their lives. Back home was often viewed as the place where whakapapa would be reconnected.

Some Māori leaders believe whānau whakapapa come back home when they are ready and that the onus is on the whānau whakapapa themselves to find their way back home. Other leaders believe that back home needs to proactively encourage whānau whakapapa to come home, not necessarily to reside permanently, but in order to support whenua tupuna, and the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of tūpuna that originate back home. As one kaimahi whānau commented, nothing is ever the same as walking into your own whare tupuna; standing on your own tūrangawaewae. Considering how our people can be well if they have never had that experience, and reflecting on how we are encouraging them to choose to have that experience, are two fundamental issues that have motivated this study. A facilitated process of decolonisation is proposed in this study, as a possible pathway towards encouraging whānau whakapapa to choose, and continue to choose, to have those experiences.

The kaimahi whānau of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga who have shared kōrero in this study, have not all agreed that a facilitated process of decolonisation, or

whakawātea, is the means of encouraging whānau whakapapa to make that choice, but some of the perspectives shared in their kōrero gave support to further exploration of such a process. The following section will discuss their perspectives.

The Role Of A Facilitated Process Of Decolonisation Or Whakāwatea

Because of the tenacity and struggle of our tūpuna, the foundations of positive wellbeing for Māori based upon taha wairua, taha tinana, taha whānau and taha hinengaro have not been lost. For those who have remained connected or chosen to reconnect with those foundations, there is a positive future ahead as they move into, what one kaimahi whānau described as post colonial development for Māori in Aotearoa.

For others the disconnection leaves them trapped in the coloniser's world, in the Matrix where they are unaware of what is really shaping their lives and creating their unwellness. This study argues that a facilitated process of decolonisation, or whakawātea, would free them from the control of the Matrix and reconnect them with the world of their tūpuna, allowing them choice to assert rangatiratanga. By exiting the Matrix they would regain access to the strengths of te ao Māori and make informed decisions on how those strengths could support them in te ao hurihuri. This process would also strengthen relationships with whānau whakapapa and rekindle links back home, allowing them to stand authentically and confront the changing world.

It could be argued that rather than focusing on the impact of colonisation on Māori, we should focus instead on the positive legacy our tūpuna have left us in terms of traditions, values, skills and beliefs to use in te ao hurihuri. This study argues that positive development and wellbeing for all whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi will not take place, unless all are able to utilise this legacy. To do this, the wound that has been inflicted by colonisation must be acknowledged and healed. To deny the existence of this wound and ignore the need to heal it will result in the wound continuing to fester and create further infection.

For many the idea of utilising a facilitated process of decolonisation or whakawātea to heal the wound and uncover their own truths, would be foreign

to a Māori worldview of attaining knowledge and understanding through relationship (Durie, 1985). While not disputing the fact that in te ao Māori “knowledge is not obtained by looking for detail, dissecting, uncovering or going deeper” (Parkinson & Elliot, 1999, p. 52), it is important to note that a process like this may be necessary to peel back the many layers of colonisation and racism that have impacted on the lives of those that are disconnected from te ao Māori. As one kaimahi whānau has emphasised; this facilitated process can be a fast track way for whānau whakapapa to reclaim relationships and enable them to once again, obtain knowledge through relationship.

The facilitated process of decolonisation or whakawātea envisaged in this study does focus on learning through relationship, as it happens within the context of whānau whakapapa. This allows whānau whakapapa to feel safe and supported to share stories of their own colonisation; to learn about the history of their own whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi; and to uncover their own truths and the truths of their own tūpuna. The opportunity to first reconnect and strengthen relationships between previously disconnected whānau whakapapa members, would need to be built into the process before decolonisation could begin.

Whānau whakapapa would need to be provided with safe spaces and support from whānau whakapapa members who had previously participated in such a process, to enable them to unravel negative messages around being Māori and learn other truths about the history of Māori in Aotearoa, comfortably. Some individuals within the whānau whakapapa may need more intensive support from other members, if unravelling those negative messages and learning their truths, created distress. This would be an opportunity for manaakitanga to be demonstrated amongst whānau whakapapa members, recognising that the negative messages have been created and supported by the experience of colonisation and racism over several generations within many whānau whakapapa. Those messages have become entrenched in the psyche of many whānau whakapapa because they have only had access to the coloniser’s truths. An opportunity to decolonise the mind and spirit, and consider one’s future development is the anticipated outcome of this process (L. T. Smith, 1999), but this process could be painful for many.

The process envisaged in this study would begin with a whanaungatanga hui introducing a series of workshop hui to share stories and information around colonisation and to uncover some of the truths associated with the histories of particular whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi. All members of the whānau whakapapa would be involved, and opportunities made for whānau whakapapa to explore their collective dreams and pathways towards achieving those dreams. Opportunities for ongoing reflection and action as a whānau whakapapa would be encouraged, acknowledging that the process of decolonisation, or whakawātea, is a journey for life. With connections amongst whānau whakapapa members restored, the rangatiratanga of the whānau whakapapa could be reasserted.

Whether this facilitated process of decolonisation is feasible, was questioned by some kaimahi whānau. One kaimahi whānau believed all of our families...all of our kids...all of our rangatahi should have access to Te Korowai Aroha however, the claim was made that there were processes that we were just not able to overcome to allow this to happen. Another kaimahi whānau was already using whakawātea, or decolonisation of the mind and spirit, to clear away all the hara and pain and allow healing and reconnection to begin. Most kaimahi whānau agreed that this healing would have to occur within the context of the whānau whakapapa; although we could attempt to heal individuals, healing would not be complete while an individual's whānau whakapapa remained unwell.

One kaimahi whānau reflected on the potential of this process in healing whānau whakapapa who had not coped with colonisation over many generations. Another kaimahi whānau warned that this process could not happen once and result in a whānau whakapapa being decolonised. Supporting this kōrero, the facilitated process envisaged in this study, is seen only as the start of a lifelong journey of reclaiming, preserving and continuing relationships with whakapapa, whenua tupuna, tūpuna and atua; relationships that are constantly challenged within te ao hurihuri.

It is argued in this study that whānau whakapapa coming in contact with social service agencies, many of whom are trapped in the Matrix, could, through a facilitated process of decolonisation, or whakawātea, be given the opportunity to

assert and restore rangatiratanga for themselves and provide ongoing support to each other. By providing opportunities for these whānau whakapapa to participate in these processes, kaimahi whānau would be contributing towards their positive development and wellbeing, so they no longer required the support of kaimahi whānau who were outside their own whānau whakapapa.

Views were expressed about the reality of putting this facilitated process of decolonisation or whakawātea into practice, particularly when many of the whānau whakapapa kaimahi whānau were working with, were focused on struggling to survive. Resources would need to be made available to support whānau whakapapa coming together to participate in these facilitated processes of decolonisation or whakawātea. These resources could provide suitable venues, accommodation and kai, in a similar way that resources are found to promote conferences and hui amongst government and other agencies, around particular kaupapa of social concern. By providing these resources for whānau whakapapa to hui, they could develop their own ways of supporting each other towards positive wellbeing, and resolve their own kaupapa of social concern. This could mean asserting their right collectively to more resources; resources that could be used directly in the way they desire, to achieve their collective dreams. An example of this would be direct access to funding provided to the Ministries of Social Development, Education, Health and Justice allowing whānau whakapapa to support their own positive wellbeing and development.

Whether uncovering their own truths would set whānau whakapapa free and enhance their wellbeing, and whether the current role of kaimahi whānau in the provision of social services to Māori would become redundant, requires further resources and effort to study. This study argues that if this process was assessed to be effective then the skills, experience and knowledge of kaimahi whānau previously involved in social service agencies, would be better put to use within their own whakapapa whānau contexts, as participants along with other whānau whakapapa members, in the collective support of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi.

Further Research

This study highlighted the significant impact of colonisation and the challenges faced by kaimahi whānau in providing opportunities for rangatiratanga amongst whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi in Aotearoa. Positive whānau whakapapa development and wellbeing seemed to be dependent on the utilisation by kaimahi whānau and the whānau whakapapa themselves, of the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna. The challenge identified in this research was the means by which those whānau whakapapa disconnected from te ao Māori could be reconnected with these traditions, values, skills and beliefs, and view them as strengths in their lives.

There was not agreement amongst the kaimahi whānau on the potential role of a facilitated process of decolonisation in supporting positive whānau whakapapa development and wellbeing. While there was some support for the use of a facilitated process of decolonisation, or whakawātea, amongst kaimahi whānau themselves, and for use in their work to support and heal whānau whakapapa, this support was not given by the majority of kaimahi whānau. Several were unsure or unconvinced that this process could take place in reality, or at this time.

Future study would need to focus on a more specific evaluation of this process. A participatory study involving a specific whānau whakapapa brought together to participate in a facilitated process of decolonisation or whakawātea, would need to take place, to evaluate the process more closely. Freire (1972) argues that education and liberation of the oppressed is dependent on what happens after the reflection. There must be action decided on by the people themselves as a result of the opportunity to reflect upon their lives. This action would ultimately determine whether they became free. Therefore a longitudinal study of the long term effects of this process would be useful to determine whether whānau whakapapa were freed and able to exit the Matrix, and whether this had a positive impact on their collective development and wellbeing.

Freire (1972) also argues that those facilitating the educative process must not determine for the participants what the action will be. Although in the process

envisaged in this study, the facilitators are members of the whānau whakapapa participating, the whānau whakapapa as a whole must determine what transformation takes place in their lives. It is important therefore that any further study examines the long term benefits for the whānau whakapapa as a whole.

Looking to such a process having value, requires a consideration of the education processes supported in Aotearoa today. While those Māori reconnected or reconnecting with te ao Māori, will choose to participate in Māori centred education pathways and continue to validate the truths of our tūpuna in these environments, Durie (2005) has revealed that only one out of five children are involved in those pathways. This study argues that as those numbers increase the challenge for whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi will not only be that their members continue to become educated in mātauranga Māori, and other knowledge, but also what those members do once they are educated. It is argued in this study that those educated must be prepared to shape and support the aspirations of their own whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi.

Another issue needing research attention is the way in which the history of Aotearoa is presented in our mainstream and kaupapa Māori learning institutions. Both Māori and non-Māori need to be exposed to a comprehensive account of our history (Consedine, 2006). Non-Māori support for Māori initiatives is not likely to develop if the history of Aotearoa is not adequately covered in the curriculum at primary, secondary and tertiary level for both Māori and non-Māori.

Amongst other indigenous peoples the concept of decolonisation is receiving some attention (Weaver, 2001; Sinclair 2004). It is expected that the conclusions made in this study will contribute to the growing literature around this kaupapa, however this study recognises that in encouraging a return to the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their ancestors, the leaders of other indigenous peoples may not envisage a facilitated process of decolonisation, promoted in this study, as useful. It is expected, however, that whilst the views of those working amongst other indigenous peoples may reflect different truths to those shared by the Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga kaimahi whānau, there could

be some benefit to the future wellbeing of those peoples through hearing their workers' stories.

Reflecting On The Research Process

The challenge of researching this kaupapa in a non-Māori academic setting within the principles of Whakapiki Tangata, Whakaurunga and Mana Māori identified by Durie (1996), has been met. By adhering to these principles this study has been developed within a from Māori, by Māori, with Māori, for Māori approach. Whether the knowing concluded from the findings reflects an understanding in mind and in spirit will ultimately be determined by my own whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi and by the kaimahi whānau who shared kōrero in this study.

In fulfilling the responsibilities reflected in the principles and approach taken in this study, it has been important to be guided by the values of my tūpuna. While having to meet the ethical requirements of Massey University, it has been more important to me that this study reflect the ethics provided by my tūpuna, ensuring tika, pono and aroha have guided all decisions made. The obligation to reflect those values, determines that the research process is not completed, with the submission of the thesis for examination.

Following the University examination of this thesis, hui will take place amongst the kaimahi whānau who shared kōrero for this study, amongst my own whānau whakapapa, amongst my hapū and amongst my iwi to ensure that the voices, ideas and conclusions are presented to those I am immediately accountable to. It is expected that challenges will be made to the ideas expressed, and opportunities to further develop those ideas given.

This study has contributed to the positive development and wellbeing of whānau whakapapa by responding to the issues for Māori in te ao hurihuri and acknowledging the significant contribution the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of our tūpuna can make to our lives today. By advocating that we assert our own rangatiratanga within the context of our own whānau whakapapa in our mahi, this study is encouraging other kaimahi whānau and whānau whakapapa to consider exiting the Matrix and restoring their own rangatiratanga.

Final Words: Towards Exiting The Matrix

Few Māori advocate that non-Māori leave Aotearoa and return to their home lands. Māori have always sought relationships with others and the values of our tūpuna, obligate us to provide manaakitanga towards all peoples in Aotearoa. The resulting relationship is expected to reflect reciprocity and to ensure that the mana of all parties is enhanced. The returning of power and control in Māori spheres is the least that is asked for and requires some acceptance by the majority non-Māori, that Māori have the right to rangatiratanga in their home land. This is difficult to achieve when Māori and non-Māori, are inadequately informed about the history of Aotearoa, and when the media is dominated by a non-Māori worldview. Addressing some of these issues will support the development of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi, but will not be enough to stop the suffering caused by colonisation continuing for many Māori in Aotearoa today.

Memmi (1965) clearly states that it is the colonised who must break themselves free from the coloniser. The coloniser can not do it. The relationship that has developed between the coloniser and the colonised will not allow this to happen. Liberation only comes about because of the action of the colonised. The support that can be provided by the colonised to each other, enabling all colonised to take action to be free and therefore to enhance their wellbeing, has been the focus of this study. The action taken to be free and to enhance wellbeing, has been compared to the concept of exiting the Matrix. This analogy worked well and effectively identified the issues revealed by this research. It was a unique way of portraying what has happened for Māori in Aotearoa.

Some kaimahi whānau found it difficult to support Memmi's (1965) view and were unclear as to whether it was possible to be free of colonisation; to exit the Matrix. However what was clear to those kaimahi whānau was that only through reconnecting with the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of our tūpuna would Māori have the opportunity to be authentically well. This reconnection required choice and the choice had to be offered by other colonised people. This does support Memmi's (1965) view. The coloniser cannot free the colonised from the

Matrix. Other colonised people must support their colonised whānau whakapapa members to become free and to exit the Matrix.

The Matrix is about hiding truths, denying choice and maintaining control. It is about oppressing the mind, body and spirit of a people. Colonisation by non-Māori has created the Matrix in Aotearoa. With legislation, choice was denied to Māori in many ways. This choice was denied to the extent that now generations later, descendants of those tūpuna, do not even know that their tūpuna were denied choice or that they themselves are still denied choice. This denial of choice traps many in the Matrix and prevents positive wellbeing.

Exiting the Matrix is about learning about other truths; our own truths; exercising choice and regaining control. As whānau whakapapa are able to exercise choice, rangatiratanga is restored, and wellbeing is enhanced. Whānau whakapapa can choose to remain in, or return to the Matrix, but they are strengthened and reconnected into the world outside the Matrix. They know they are free to make a choice, and can exit the Matrix when they want. Having the freedom to exercise choice enhances the wellbeing of whānau whakapapa. They are free to live as rangatira, live authentically as Māori, and follow the guidance of their tūpuna. This is rangatiratanga.

Rangatiratanga is not restored for Māori, unless all whānau whakapapa assert it. Rangatiratanga is possible only if all whānau whakapapa can exit the Matrix. Whilst Durie (1998) has questioned the “exclusive focus on tribal structure” in meeting the needs of “whānau and individuals across a range of social and cultural conditions” (p. 96), this study argues that the spiritual reconnection through whakapapa to tūpuna, whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi is necessary to restore balance for Māori in te ao hurihuri. A facilitated process of decolonisation, or whakawātea, for whānau whakapapa as proposed in this study, is a possible pathway to allow this to happen. With the support of whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi resources, kaimahi whānau could initiate these processes amongst their own whānau whakapapa and encourage other kaimahi whānau to facilitate these processes within their own whānau whakapapa.

This study has argued that only through finding those pathways that reconnect whānau whakapapa to the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna will positive whānau whakapapa development and wellbeing be achieved. A facilitated process of decolonisation, or whakawātea, has been offered as one of those pathways. Whether this pathway is chosen or not, finding the pathways for all whānau whakapapa to exit the Matrix and to restore to themselves rangatiratanga, is the challenge for all whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi leaders in Aotearoa today.

APPENDIX
Massey University Human Ethics Application



Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa

**NOTIFICATION OF LOW RISK RESEARCH/EVALUATION
INVOLVING HUMAN PARTICIPANTS**

(All notifications are to be typed)

SECTION A

1. **Project Title** "Exiting the Matrix": Decolonisation in Maori Social Work Practice:
Voices of Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga Social Workers
February 2004 November 2005
- Projected start date** _____ **Projected end date** _____
2. **Applicant Details** *(Select the appropriate box and complete details)*

ACADEMIC STAFF NOTIFICATION

Full Name of Staff Applicant/s _____

School/Department/Institute _____

Region (mark one only) Albany ☐ Palmerston North ☐ Wellington ☐

Telephone _____ **Email Address** _____

STUDENT NOTIFICATION

Full Name of Student Applicant Hayley Susan Bell

Employer (if applicable) School of Sociology, Social Policy & Social Work,
Massey University, Palmerston North.

Telephone 06 3505799
ext.2836 **Email Address** h.s.bell@massey.ac.nz

Postal Address 9 Jenks Street, Foxton.

Full Name of Supervisor(s) Ms.Rachael Selby & Professor Robyn Munford

School/Department/Institute School of Sociology, Social Policy & Social Work

Region (mark one only) Albany ☐ Palmerston North ☒ Wellington ☐

Telephone 06 3505799
ext. 2831 **Email Address** R.A.Selby@massey.ac.nz

GENERAL STAFF NOTIFICATION

Full Name of Applicant _____

Section _____

Region (mark one only) Albany ☐ Palmerston North ☐ Wellington ☐

Telephone _____ Email Address _____

Full Name of Line
Manager _____

Section _____

Telephone _____ Email Address _____

3. Type of Project (mark one only)

Staff Research ☐

Student Research:

PhD Research

Master's Research

Honours Research

Undergraduate Research
(individual project)

<input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>

Evaluation Programme

Undergraduate Teaching Programme

Other

If Other, specify:

<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>

4. Summary of Project

Please outline in no more than 200 words in lay language why you have chosen this project, what you intend to do and the methods you will use.

(Note: all the information provided in the notification is potentially available if a request is made under the Official Information Act. In the event that a request is made, the University, in the first instance, would endeavour to satisfy that request by providing this summary. Please ensure that the language used is comprehensible to all)

This thesis will explore the role of decolonisation, of social workers, and of the whanau they support, as an accepted focus of social work practice, aimed to enhance wellbeing outcomes for Maori.

Decolonisation is defined as an analysis of the historical journey of a people and oneself, within the context of another dominant cultural group. Participants identify, then know strengths from the past, utilising them to create positive futures for themselves and their whanau.

In this thesis, the voices of Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga social workers, working in various fields of practice, will be heard. Six will be interviewed. Another six will participate in a group discussion. These will be audio-taped, and along with a review of related literature, will be analysed to explore the question - what role does decolonisation play in Maori social work practice and how does it contribute to enhancing wellbeing?

The findings of this research will be relevant to future social work practice in Aotearoa, in other countries throughout the world and to indigenous populations.

**Please submit this Low Risk Notification (with the completed Screening Questionnaire)
to:**

**The Ethics Administrator
Equity & Ethics, Old Main Building
Turitea, Palmerston North**

SECTION B: DECLARATION *(Complete appropriate box)*

ACADEMIC STAFF RESEARCH

Declaration for Academic Staff Applicant

I have read the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. I understand my obligations and the rights of the participants. I agree to undertake the research as set out in the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. My Head of Department/School/Institute knows that I am undertaking this research. The information contained in this notification is to the very best of my knowledge accurate and not misleading.

Staff Applicant's Signature _____

Date: _____

STUDENT RESEARCH

Declaration for Student Applicant

I have read the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants and discussed the ethical analysis with my Supervisor. I understand my obligations and the rights of the participants. I agree to undertake the research as set out in the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. The information contained in this notification is to the very best of my knowledge accurate and not misleading.

Student Applicant's Signature _____

Date: 29/7/04

Declaration for Supervisor

I have assisted the student in the ethical analysis of this project. As supervisor of this research I will ensure that the research is carried out according to the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants.

Supervisor's Signature _____

Date: _____

Print Name _____

GENERAL STAFF RESEARCH/EVALUATIONS

Declaration for General Staff Applicant

I have read the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants and discussed the ethical analysis with my Supervisor. I understand my obligations and the rights of the participants. I agree to undertake the research as set out in the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. The information contained in this notification is to the very best of my knowledge accurate and not misleading.

General Staff Applicant's Signature _____

Date: _____

Declaration for Line Manager

I declare that to the best of my knowledge, this notification complies with the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants and that I have approved its content and agreed that it can be submitted.

Line Manager's Signature _____

Date: _____

Print Name _____

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